THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

January 29, 1949

THE WAR WILL GO ON

AN EDITORIAL

Bitter Pill Of Mao Tse-tung

Andrew Roth

A Plea For Malthus

J. R. Kaim

Popular Magazines Vanish

C. Y. W. Meng

FUTURE OF TAIWAN

AN EDITORIAL

VOLUME 112 GY30 NUMBER 9

1870

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

No Faith In Bonds

To the Editor:

The Government is planning to float a bond issue of $100,000,000. We hope it will be successful.

Those who have close affiliations with the KMT and who have received direct monetary benefit from this political party should show enthusiasm by subscribing to this new floating debt. But we *lao pai hsing* should not be deceived, for we have had a great deal of experience in purchasing government bonds.

I have been a staunch supporter of government bonds in the past. Mainly due to my former impeccable faith in the Government, I am now almost penniless and homeless.

During the past two years I bought heavily of the so-called US dollar treasury bonds and believed at that time that the Government would never dishonor its sacred obligation. I thought I was doing my duty by helping the Government in time of need.

Now I am an old man past 60 and will shortly have to retire from active life. What can I do with a handful of waste paper? I am a victim of faith—a faith that made a pauper out of me. Let your worthy readers be aware of my past experience so that they will not make fools of themselves.

Some of my friends laugh at me and think I should suffer the consequence of my confidence in our Government.

Y.Y.L.

Shanghai
January 30, 1949

Eleventh Hour

To the Editor:

From the newspapers here I gather that both your country and England have refused to participate in the peace negotiations, since a "burned child" instinctively "dreads the fire." It is never too late for your country's administration to repent and reorientate its policy. The US has already done the Chinese masses a great injustice for its own imaginary self-aggrandizement.

A Christian country such as yours should have known better long before this. Let us hope that our two countries honestly return to their God-given senses of right and wrong at this eleventh hour.

CHINESE JOHN THE BAPTIST.

Chengtu, Szechuen
January 19, 1949

Father And Son

To the Editor:

When Sun Fo, the son of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, founder of the Republic of China, was installed in office, he announced that he would urge continuance of the Civil War to the very end. Now Sun Fo, who has failed in his attempts to get additional aid from the United States, failed in achieving victory on the military front, and failed in selecting members for his Cabinet, has not dared open the door for peace talks.

Rumor has it that his step-mother, Madame Sun Yat-sen, always has ad-

THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

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(Editor & Publisher, 1918-1947)

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Subscription Rates

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Shanghai and China Outports	GY 350.00
China Outports (Air Mail)	GY 550.00
Hongkong and Macao	GY 500.00
Hongkong and Macao (Air Mail)	GY 700.00

	6 months	1 year
U.S.A. and other Foreign Countries	US$5.00	US$9.00

Price per copy: GY 30.

STUDENT RATES

	3 months
Shanghai and China Outports	GY 280.00
China Outports (Air Mail)	GY 480.00

(All subscriptions must be authenticated by the individual student's school and must be sent directly to the offices of the *China Weekly Review.)*

All mail rates are subject to change in accordance with postal changes.

Cable Address: "Reviewing" Shanghai **Telephone: 14772**

PUBLISHED AT 160 CHUNG CHENG ROAD (EASTERN), SHANGHAI (O), CHINA, BY MILLARD PUBLISHING COMPANY, INCORPORATED UNDER THE LAWS OF THE STATE OF DELAWARE, U.S.A. REGISTERED AT THE CHINESE POST OFFICE AS A NEWSPAPER FOR TRANSMISSION WITH SPECIAL MARKS PRIVILEGES IN CHINA.

Contents of previous issues of The China Weekly Review may be found in the "International Index of Periodicals," copies of which are on file in most standard libraries.

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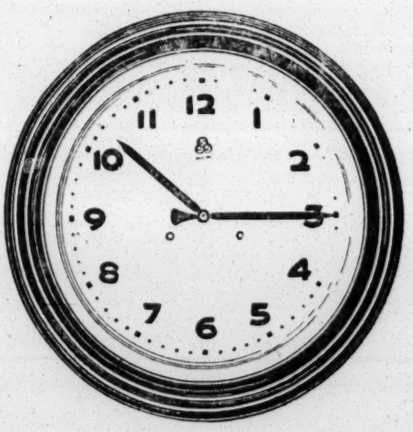

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vised him not to be a traitor to his father, but it is said that he remains silent to such admonitions. What can we expect of him?

I can still remember that when Dr. Sun Yat-sen's last day came, in his faint, breathless voice, he pronounced such wonderful words as "Peace! Struggle! Save China!" These words should be a good motto for us and for the authorities, especially Sun Fo. Dr. Sun's own son should be asked to remember what his good father said on his death bed.

C. Y. L.

Soochow
January 17, 1949

US Blunder

To the Editor:

A friend has sent me your editorial of January 1, based, in part, on a *United Press* report of an interview, which report I have not seen except the excerpts you quoted. The excerpts are substantially accurate except the one alleging that I said the ECA has blocked the recovery and military aid programs for China. The truth is this: After paying tribute to ECA for the efficient way in which it has carried out relief work, I stated that our Government itself, particularly the State Department, has systematically sabotaged an effective carrying out of the military aid program which Congress authorized.

Also, it was the Administration, not I, which asked Congress for US$570,000,000, largely for relief purposes. I opposed any expenditure of American funds unless they were protected by an effective military program. It is the latter which the Administration opposed and even after it was the law of the land, refused to carry out in good faith and with vigor. For example, the President signed the Foreign Assistance Act on April 3 but we could not get the State Department to prepare orders for him to sign to put the military aid program into operation until July 28. (I have copies of the orders if you desire to see them). As a result of such deliberate delay by United States officials, eight months elapsed before any of the ammunition purchased under this program actually got to China. Eight months is a long time to wait when your back is to the wall. (Ask the American Marines who had to wait three months on Guadalcanal)....

The factual errors in your editorials are too numerous to enumerate here. Suffice it to say that what is happening in China is not unexpected by me. It is precisely what I have been predicting in statements, broadcasts and articles for more than five years would inevitably happen if our Government did not change from the ill-advised Stilwell-Marshall policy of trying to force a coalition with the Communists, to one of vigorous and effective aid to the Government of China. I can hardly be held responsible for the failure of the policy I have criticized and predicted would fail.

We gave vigorous and effective aid to France, Italy, Greece, Austria, etc. Otherwise those Governments could not have held out against the Communists' pressures as long as has the Chinese Government. To the latter we did not give vigorous and effective aid, which includes moral and military as well as economic. Instead, our moral aid consisted of almost daily denunciations; and our military aid was largely surplus supplies which had been built up for the war with Japan, were not worth enough to justify taking back to the US, and were not suitable for China's war with the Communists.

When we refused to give "vigorous and effective aid" to the Government of

China because it was "bad," we were giving decisive aid to the Communists whose rule will prove infinitely worse. Our choice in China was not between a "bad" Government and a good Government—it was between a friend and an enemy. By our default we chose the enemy. Now we will start paying on the terrible bill for our blunder—paying in China, Korea, Japan, Alaska, the Philippines, South-east Asia, England, Holland, etc., plus increased American armaments everywhere.

WALTER H. JUDD.

Washington, D.C.
January 14, 1949

Postage Rates

To the Editor:

While commodity price rises occur day by day the change in postal rates is no exception. We fully sympathize with conditions confronting the postoffice and in comparing them with the rise in other prices they are certainly justified.

Moreover, there is no denying the fact that this branch of the government is efficient and deserves public admiration. However, there is one defect I would like to point out and hope that it can be remedied. Letters are usually detained for a few days by the postoffice because of insufficient postage, brought on by the change in rates, despite the fact that due postage is paid by the receivers of the letters.

In some cases the letters may be quite urgent and delays, which sometimes take as much as a week, may be quite troublesome and make for serious difficulties. I sincerely hope that the postoffice will try to rectify this factor.

CHEN PAO-KONG

Shanghai
January 21, 1949

Misses Magazines

To the Editor:

Since closure of *The Observer*, the most popular magazine in this country, our Government has been making every effort to suppress freedom of speech, although that right is clearly given in our national Constitution.

We wonder why our Government insists on using its power to suppress public opinion. If the Government is a good government, the popular voice will support it, but if it is not a good government, it will be impossible to shift the blame for the Government's shortcomings onto published opinions criticizing the Government.

We students are having a hard time in obtaining good reading material. Magazines like *The Observer*, *The University Review* and *China Reconstruction* are either forced to close or their publication is interrupted. Magazines which are allowed to continue publication are not good and do not satisfy us. Our sole hope is to continue reading your *Review*, but we cannot afford to buy it. Is there any way you could send us a free subscription for three months?

S.C.C.
L.K.T.

Futan University
Shanghai
January 25, 1949

Becomes Dancer

To the Editor:

Recently a friend of mine in Shanghai reported that a former girl schoolmate of the two of us has become a dancer, not because of economic needs but purely out of vanity. While her brother is studying at a university she disregarded the desires of her wealthy father in Nanking and instead of attending a university she went to Shanghai to engage in the profession of singing and dancing.

Hearing this, I could scarcely believe what my friend said. I remembered this girl as clever and beautiful, a girl who always looked forward to her splendid future. I can clearly recall her speech, her manner and graceful behavior which I admired. But what my friend told me chilled my heart.

I am not such a stoic as to suppose that every girl desires to be a scholar or even a student but when a girl such as this discards her lessons in order to engage in such an irregular profession—dancing, which is more or less despised in China, I cannot help being regretful.

Aside from this little lesson of the state of conditions in China today, I, as a student, would like information about universities in Communist areas such as Tsinghua and Yenching which recently fell into Communist hands. I wish the *Review* readers would give us some reports about those schools in letters to the editor. I also would like to see special articles dealing with this subject in every issue of the *Review*.

Y. Y. WONG

Nanchang, Kiangsi
January 18, 1949

"Soul Of China"

To the Editor:

The ending of the movie, "Soul of China", it is said, is to promote the patriotism of the people by urging them to serve their government as faithfully as the hero Wen Tien-hsiang served his dull master.

I am not in favor of this, for this picture describes the last days of the Sung Dynasty. I would say that it is more of a reflexion of the weakness of the present government than a propaganda vehicle extolling the government's virtues.

Now we are in the south. We are eaten up with pain and exhaustion from fleeing here and there. We came here to find peace but have only found more suffering. I am afraid that we must suffer more if we go further south. Thus, even if the Reds should come across the Yangtze I will not go a step more.

CHANG YIN-LIN

Honan University, Soochow
January 20, 1949

Sells Blood

To The Editor:

As a result of communist victories in Shantung a certain medical school moved south to Foochow together with a number of its professors and students, most of whose homes were in Tsinan.

One of the students whom I know, who accompanied us from Shantung to Foochow, was completely cut off from any financial help and after using up his last resources began to sell 5 c.c. of his blood at a time in order to have money to buy food.

The chairman of the Board of Trustees of this college is a former minister of finance. His private holdings are estimated to be worth more than US$2,000,000. He is known all over China and in the United States as a rich man. For what purpose did he assume the responsible post of chairman of the Board of Trustees? Is it right for him to let students in his university go hungry while he hangs on tightly to his money in New York?

LIU SHEN-LING

Foochow
January 15, 1949

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Scientific Spirit

To The Editor:

There were two letters to the Editor in the January 8, 1949 *Review* which touched upon the students problem in China today. One of the authors suggests that there is an abnormal psychology motivating the students and requests the editor to write an editorial, "Whither Shall the Students Go?" The other author complains about the so-called "democratic" and "onward" attitude observed in most students and believes that the fate of China is doomed.

I agree with most of this, but so far as the writers fail to recognize that there is a close relationship between institutions of higher learning, on the one hand, and society as a whole, on the other, I reserve my own opinion.

For reasons not to be discussed here, the Chinese intelligentsia centuries ago lost their love for truth and thirst after knowledge. What they were concerned with was not the pursuit of knowledge or the welfare of the country, but their personal gains or promotions.

This explains why there was no science in the history of the old China before its introduction from the outside. Even nowadays, though the applied sciences are wholeheartedly welcomed by everyone, philosophy and especially logic, the mother of all science, still has a hard time finding recognition. The scientific spirit is still not rooted in the minds of the majority of students, to say nothing of the people as a whole.

In sociology, we Chinese only recently have endeavored to approach the key problem of human existence: The relationship between the individual and society. Our ancestors left us only an empirical moral code in which sons were subordinate to their fathers, and inferiors to their superiors. Piety and loyalty were the virtues expected to be observed. It was from Western Civilization that we learned to view the problem from a more correct perspective: The relationship between the citizens and the state. A re-evaluation of good and evil is now underway in China and should revolutionize our way of living.

Professor Toynbee pointed out in his exhaustive study of history that when an old civilization decays, the structure of that civilization decays as well. We cannot expect that academic life will be an exception when the old China deteriorates. With the further decaying of the old system we may expect to see even more evils than at present.

There is surely a way out. And this way is to be found through an understanding of historical movements, a new civilization versus an old one. We should pave the way for the coming of that new civilization. It may take decades and its cost may be heavy, but a short cut does not exist.

W. K. SHEN

Shanghai
January 21, 1949

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Advice To Mme. Chiang

To The Editor:

A document of the United States Congress was made public on December 16, 1948. In this document there is a passage stating: "We do not mind our suffering and hardships, but if we are to carry on this fight alone, we cannot be certain of precluding all possibility of success on the part of the aggressors. If China should be unfortunately conquered, the Far East will be sovietized and so would Asia and Europe...."

This point of view makes it appear that Madame Chiang is faced with failure in her personal appeal to President Truman and the State Department for more American military assistance for her husband's tottering government. Since Madame Chiang has failed on her mission, it would seem that she should return to China at once. But in fact, she has been in the United States for over a month. What is she doing there?

I learned from a Soochow daily paper that she expects to return this month before the Lunar New Year. Before her return I would like to make the following proposal to her. She need not bother to appeal to America for help but can appeal better to the rich families of her own country. She need not appeal to President Truman and the Secretary of State, but should appeal to T. V. Soong, her brother, and to H. H. Kung, her brother-in-law, to take out part of their funds deposited in banks in the United States and use these assets for the public good.

They would not, I think, be cool to her appeal for funds to stabilize the economy and win the war. Madame Chiang! Dear Madame Chiang! Come back to China soon and take my advice.

K. K. CHOW

Soochow
January 16, 1949

THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW
密勒氏評論報
A Weekly Newspaper Established in 1917

The editorial pages present each week the opinions of the editor. The other pages of The China Weekly Review are written by the other members of the staff and the contributing editors who report and interpret the news irrespective of the views expressed in the editorials.

Vol. 112 Shanghai, Saturday, January 29, 1949 No. 9

The War Will Go On

THE current flurry of "peace" rumors shows no sign of abating. In our view there is little reason to believe that the Nanking regime will be able to conclude any kind of a settlement with the Communists short of surrender. From where we sit, all the available facts add up to a picture in which the Civil War will be settled purely by military means.

Many observers, well versed in Chinese lore, speak of such things as the spirit of compromise, the desire to bargain, the ability to "think of a way," etc. Perhaps we are wrong, but it seems to us that these "national characteristics," whether they be inherent in the Chinese as a race or whether they be merely acquired from a feudal environment, will not have much influence on events from here on out. Such "characteristics" may well apply to many members of the National Government, but the Chinese Communists have shown themselves not likely to be bound by traditions or customs unless such are useful or unavoidable. The Kuomintang, meanwhile, has its back to the wall and has little choice in the matter.

If we were in the position of the Chinese Communists, we would insist upon continuing the war until such time as the Kuomintang surrendered or was exterminated. We would remember the past two decades during which the then more powerful KMT hunted us. We would remember the problems encountered during periods when we tried to cooperate. We would undoubtedly blame all past differences and difficulties upon the Kuomintang, but in any event we would be well aware of the obstacles blocking cooperation. We would review our recent string of military victories and, looking at the evidence of Kuomintang weakness, decide that now, at long last, was the time to finish off the enemy.

Being extreme realists, however, we would examine the situation carefully so as to be sure that we were not taking an undue risk in continuing the military campaign. Obviously, the Kuomintang, as it now stands, is incapable of offering any serious threat to our arms. True, it has an airforce and navy and a lot of troops. However, the past six months have shown, beyond a shadow of a doubt, that its armed forces are not equal to ours. We would consider the world picture. If there were evidence that the United States was on the verge of immediate active intervention in an effort to stave off defeat for the Kuomintang, we might be inclined to consider the possibilities which might arise. Perhaps a different approach might be needed in order to avoid some incident with America. However, there is no sign of such intervention. America apparently is fed up with the Nanking crowd and has washed its hands of China so far as any worthwhile future support of the Kuomintang is concerned.

We would examine the peace proposals with care, looking over each one, analyzing the source and attempting to figure out the many complex motives behind it. Two months ago, we might have seriously considered some sort of deal with General Fu Tso-yi, since at that time the battle for Hsuchow was just opening and we weren't exactly certain as to just how much fight the Kuomintang's "crack" armies had left. We needed to get men down from Shantung, Manchuria and any place else where we had them and did not want to be tied down by Fu Tso-yi. Also there was a possibility that Fu might attempt to cut us off once we rushed down to Central China. However, the Nationalist front at Hsuchow crumbled surprisingly fast and Fu, indicating that he was willing to talk peace, showed no signs of wanting to do battle.

Our military position North of the Yangtze is strong, while that of the Kuomintang is not even strong south of the Yangtze where we have the support of numerous guerrilla bands, some of them of our own organization and some of them spontaneus risings by peasantry dissatisfied with KMT rule. We have captured Tientsin without too much actual fighting while General Fu finally surrendered Peiping peacefully.

General Fu's "bargaining" position in Peiping was better than has been the case elsewhere. This was solely because we did not wish to destroy or seriously damage the ancient capital. We had no great need for the troops surrounding Peiping, although we could use them in our projected crossing of the Yangtze. However, from a long range point of view—a luxury we are now able to afford so far as individual generals such as Fu are concerned—it was better to delay the capture of Peiping in order to get Fu's unconditional surrender. Fu was willing to stop fighting if we would let him keep his personal troops. This would have been a simple and quick solution. However, we must consider the future. Fu wanted to take his troops back to Suiyuan, a geographic location where he would once again be surrounded by his old friends, the warlord Ma family, whom we have yet to defeat. Thus, by taking a quick and cheap victory over Fu now, we might be forced to fight him again later and perhaps on not so favorable ground as today.

Another point we must consider, and this applies to generals like Pai Chung-hsi, Tang En-po, and perhaps others with troops whom we

will meet in the future. Outnumbered and outgunned, they may very likely offer to cease resisting us if we leave them alone, allow them to retire to their native places with their personal troops. If we did this, we would have China dotted with little islands controlled by warlords. Perhaps they would even actively cooperate with us for some time. This is quite likely so long as everything goes well and we are still mobilized militarily. Suppose, however, that we have some future complications with a foreign power? Or suppose that later on we decide the time has come to make some rather drastic changes in the economy of the country and these cause opposition from certain class circles? What will these remnant warlords, who still have troops at their disposal, do at that time? Thus, we can see the wisdom of eliminating the various warlord-generals now. If they will lay down their arms and join us, we will welcome them. However, we reserve the right to distrust their motives so long as they insist upon retaining their armed strength.

We can defeat them militarily now. We have the strength. Our final victory may be delayed another few months by such a policy—especially if they persist in fighting to the last—but it is the only safe and sensible course. We have offered an eight-point peace program which is much the same as we have always advocated. We will not take a chance of letting final and absolute victory, for which we have fought for so long, slip away at this time by being tempted by the Kuomintang's offer of a quick and cheap end to the war if we will compromise.

* * *

THIS, we believe, is essentially the Communist thinking regarding peace. Although the decision as to how the war will end lies principally with the Communists because they are now in the ascendency, a part of the decision lies with the Kuomintang, especially with the individual generals who control troops. Despite the calls for a peaceful settlement made by General Li Tsung-jen and other KMT personages, including some of the generals, it seems to us that negotiation with the Communists—who continue to insist upon outright surrender—is almost impossible.

If we were a Kuomintang general, we would be busily engaged in all sorts of schemes, peace offensives, and appeals for foreign aid and at the same time would be hastily building up our strength in the event it became impossible to negotiate.

We would feel that the Central Government as an organization was a goner. The defeats of the past six months have been too disastrous. However, there may be a possibility for some sort of individual dicker with the Reds. After all, that is the way it has always been in China. Few generals facing defeat have ever found it completely impossible to strike a bargain, and the generals opposing us do not want to suffer any more casualties than we do. If we offer to "retire" with our troops, they may agree not to bother us any more.

However, there seems to be grounds for suspicion that the Communists are not exactly like other enemies we have fought. They seem to have strong organization among themselves and there has been no opportunity so far for employing "silver bullets" as we so frequently did in the past. They are indeed difficult to analyze. Nevertheless, there are many things that can be done. First, we must initiate an appeal for peace. We must call in the heads of the various "public" bodies and order them to issue appeals to the Communists in the names of the members of their respective organizations, imploring the Reds to stop the fighting. If this appeal is strong enough, it may put the Reds in a bad light publicly since it will become "obvious" that we want peace, but that the Reds desire to continue the bloodshed. Placed in such an embarrassing position, it will make it more difficult for them to stick to their eight points and refuse to negotiate.

Also, we must begin to disassociate ourselves from Nanking. The Nanking Government seems to be the object of considerable animosity on the part of the Communists. They refuse to deal with the Generalissimo. Besides, Nanking no longer seems to have the magic word insofar as obtaining US aid is concerned. Perhaps we stand a better chance of getting aid individually, especially if we can convince the Americans that we are men of action and that all the corruption —a thing which seems to make the Americans especially unhappy—is the fault of the bureaucrats in the capital. Thus, on the one hand we may be able to force the Communists to at least agree to a truce and on the other hand appeal for more American aid. In addition, any breathing spell will enable us to organize our forces for more effective combat later on.

If all these plans fail, we must be prepared to fight. If the Communists stick to their present statements and insist upon complete surrender, it is better to fight. Once we lay down our arms and give up our personal troops, we are powerless. This we have learned well during the last two decades. At the beginning of the revolution, some of us personally commanded troops. Later some split with the Central authorities and eventually were deprived of our forces, after being maneuvered into impossible positions. Since then, we have held various posts in the Central Government but have had no real authority until now once again fate has put some troops in our hands.

When the Communists attack, we will fight. If the Communists are too strong, we may retreat as far as we can. However, in the final analysis, we must either fight to the end or flee, especially if the Communists persist in their idea of trying us as common criminals. That we could not face. If we can fight and delay, fight and delay, we may be able to think of a way. We may get some foreign aid, or events in the world may change matters in China. It is still reported that America and Russia may go to war. This, of course, would be an ideal solution.

* * *

THIS, we think, generally represents the position of many Kuomintang generals. So long

as the Communists remain adamant, which they apparently will continue to do, the various KMT leaders, especially the top ones, have no alternative but to continue the fight until such time as they are unable to fight any longer. From the point of view of an official in the Government, especially a general with troops, complete surrender is something to be avoided for as long as possible. Anything to delay such a day must be done.

Postal Service With Reds

SINCE publication in the January 1 issue of the *Review* of an article advocating the exchange of mails between Nationalist and Communist areas, similar suggestions have appeared in the foreign and Chinese press here.

It has been pointed out that many Chinese families have been separated by the Civil War and that the inauguration of postal service between Nationalist and Communist China, even if passed through the hands of censors, would make things a lot easier for them. Various arguments, such as the fact that Nationalist China and Puppet China exchanged mails during the entire period of the Sino-Japanese War, have been advanced.

Whatever the merits or demerits of the case for opening postal relations with the Communists, the report that the employees of the Nationalist Postoffice are willing to undertake such a task is again proof of the fine service which China's postmen render whenever possible. In the past, we understand, the familiar green-clad postmen had their difficulties with the Communists. For quite some time, the Communists were of the opinion that postmen served as Nationalist spies and did not treat them very well. Now, we are told, postal employees left behind when the Government has evacuated towns, are quite well treated by the Reds who are asking their help in setting up a postal administration in Communist areas.

Recently, we understand, postmen in Shanghai have been having their difficulties with certain Nationalist authorities. A number of postal employees were arrested some time ago when they initiated a movement for increased wages and are still detained, presumably on charges of being under the influence of the "Communist Bandits".

The postoffice, although a National Government institution, can be considered more or less non-political. That is, the organization is neither pro-Communist nor pro-Kuomintang. However, it does have a relatively strong union of its workers, many of whom in the past have attained national prominence in labor movements. Thus, while the postoffice is not a political force as far as parties are concerned, it is a very active organization as far as social consciousness is concerned. This, unfortunately, may well be enough to get it in trouble with the authorities from time to time.

It has always been our opinion—expressed upon more than one occasion in these columns in the past—that a great many organizations, both public and private, might well look to the Chinese Postoffice for leadership in such fields as efficiency, enlightened relations between workers and management, and public service. It is in the light of public service that the present movement among postal employees for extending service to Communist-held areas should be viewed.

Future Of Taiwan

THE press has been flooded in recent weeks with scores of stories about the island of Taiwan. Such articles, naturally, reflect the growing interest in this province on the part of those members of the Nanking regime who have hopes of putting up a last ditch fight there against the Communists. As is to be expected, many of these stories have contained faulty information, some of which probably resulted from ignorance on the part of the reporters concerned but much of which, we suspect, was a result of deliberate "feeding" of propaganda to the press.

Before examining some of the information and misinformation about Taiwan recently available in the local press, we might look at some of the pressure groups which are busy formulating plans for this much-abused island province of China. The main group interested in Taiwan today consists of those people, possibly including the Generalissimo, who hope to make the island a base for resistance to the Communists. Upon the Generalissimo's personal orders, a number of mainland factories have supposedly been dismantled and shipped to Taiwan. An estimated 200,000 rich refugees who prefer not to remain in areas controlled by the Reds, have already moved to Taiwan, while many Government bureaus and private business organizations have wholly or partially moved their offices to Taiwan. The last two ship-loads of American arms for Nanking have reportedly been diverted to Taiwan ports.

The second important group concerned with the future of the island is comprised of the approximately 6,000,000 Taiwanese who might be described as a people not entirely satisfied with their present lot. The Taiwanese have had a pretty difficult time under their various masters. The Japanese exploited the island thoroughly and ruled it with a firm hand. The Chinese administration which took over from the Japanese at the end of the war distinguished itself mainly by its extraordinary greed. While the Japanese exploited, the Chinese looted.

The revolt in February 1947 and its brutal suppression—facts with which we are sure most of our readers are familiar—did not increase the respect of the islanders for the mainlanders.

The position of the Taiwanese today is a curious one. We would guess that nearly 100 percent of the population is opposed to the Nanking regime or any splinter part of it and consequently will not spread the welcome mat, even if the Generalissimo himself arrives. However, as far as we have been able to learn, there are few if any Taiwanese Communists. The Japanese, with their efficient police methods, plus the fact that they saw to it that everybody got at least a sub-

sistence living, attended to that. The Taiwanese who "count"—the big landowners and the small number of substantial merchants who have managed to raise their heads—are obviously not fond of communism.

The result of this animosity towards both the Kuomintang and the Communists seems to be a movement, initiated by some of the more educated and articulate Taiwanese, for regional autonomy or independence, preferably the latter. While there are many plausible sounding arguments which those favoring separation from the mainland have advanced, the idea on the whole is not feasible.

The third major group interested in Taiwan today is composed of a miscellaneous collection of Americans who would like to see the United States take over. Some businessmen feel that it could be developed into an extremely valuable possession with American money and brains. Also, it would provide a stable and convenient place from which to conduct trade with both China and Japan. While there is no way of obtaining confirmation, rumor has it that there are not a few American officials who feel that if Taiwan could be brought under American control the diplomatic and military position of the United States in Asia would be enhanced.

* * *

THUS, it can be seen that much of the sometimes extraordinary material appearing in the local press about Taiwan is probably "inspired" by one or more of the groups now primarily interested in the island.

Stories reflecting the interest of the Nanking regime in Taiwan as a base for continuing the war began appearing in the papers as long as a couple of months ago. However, it was not until early this month that the dam broke and the flood began. On January 7 the *China Daily Tribune*, which has devoted a great amount of space to Taiwan in recent weeks, ran a story reporting that General Chen Cheng, newly appointed governor of the island, promised the people that he would never allow the Communists to invade his new domain. The *Sin Wan Pao* on January 13 reported that the transfer of factories to Taiwan from the mainland was resulting in a power shortage. The *Financial Daily* warned on January 14 that Taiwan's currency situation was becoming serious since the note issue now stands at T$10,000,000,000, an increase of 30 times since the Chinese took over from the Japanese. On January 14 *Reuter* reported from Hankow that the transfer of the Hanyang Arsenal to Taiwan had almost been completed. The *China Daily Tribune* on January 16 carried a story describing how the island's shortage of skilled labor was delaying construction of residence and office buildings in Taipeh, while on January 20 the *Sin Wan Pao* reported commodity prices in Taipeh to be skyrocketing.

The foregoing headlines, picked at random, clearly illustrate the fact that Taiwan is fast becoming both a place of refuge and a base for many of China's dyed-in-the-wool anti-Communist sons.

IT IS rather difficult to determine the source of some of the information appearing in articles on Taiwan. However, it is not so difficult to analyze the articles for correct or incorrect facts and for partisan propaganda. Stories with headlines such as "Taiwan Of Great Strategic Value In West Pacific," will assuredly have a definite appeal to certain Americans, especially those whose thinking runs almost entirely along lines dictated by considerations of military strategy. Such individuals are sure to be extremely worried over the possibility of a red Taiwan, and to visualize with relish a mental picture of the island dotted with American bases. It is, of course, most unlikely that the United States Government will lift a hand toward Taiwan, but that doesn't prevent some American groups or individuals from eying the place wistfully.

A *United Press* "think" piece from Tokyo on January 18, headlined, "Chiang Won't Resign; Hopes To Defend Nanking; Move To Formosa When Necessary," contained about as much misinformation as is possible to get into one article. Firstly, coming only a couple of days or so before the Generalissimo resigned, its analysis of the president's position was completely wrong. Claiming to be based upon information "exclusively obtained from a *most reliable* diplomatic informant," the article served as a vehicle for carrying considerable anti-communist propaganda and also the ideas of that group of American officials in Japan who would like to grab Taiwan for the US during the present confusion in China.

One choice sentence read: "The Generalissimo expects the Communists to drive next towards Hankow on the advice of Russian strategists." Aside from being at variance with most military information available here—and presumably also in Japan—the sentence slipped in, completely without qualification or reference as to source, the phrase, "on the advice of Russian strategists." The reader is led to assume that it is common knowledge that the Chinese Communists are operating with the benefit of Russian strategical advice. Such devices should never be used by reputable newspapermen, and their employment indicates that the reporter either has been slip-shod in his work and hoodwinked by a partisan source of information or that he himself has assumed the role of special pleader of a cause and can no longer be considered an objective observer.

Other wrong "guesses" included the one that General Fu Tso-Yi was going to join the Generalissimo in Taiwan. This, the article says, is partially because "The Russians have advised the (Chinese) Communists to smash Fu Tso-yi's troops 'at all costs.'" Again, we have the unsubstantiated reference to Russian guidance and direction of Chinese Communist military strategy. Further, as most observers believed at that time and as events of the next few days indicated, General Fu made a deal with the Communists and surrendered.

Toward the end of the article, the reporter really got into his stride and passed along his main "message," saying, again without any reference as to source or reliability of the informa-

tion, "Plans call for maintaining close economic relations between Formosa and South China as long as possible, after which an effort will be made to develop the closest possible economic relations with Japan. In view of the fact that Formosa was an integral part of the Japanese Empire prior to VJ Day, it is expected that this plan will be welcomed by General MacArthur and Washington, since Formosa can contribute extensively to the economic restoration of Japan."

We can imagine that many people, including the un-purged Japanese militarists and zaibatsu, will be quite pleased to see the restoration of the "closest possible" ties between Taiwan and Japan.

The full significance of the foregoing dispatch can be realized more easily when one reads another *United Press* story on Taiwan, which was written a few days later and, which bore the headline, "Taiwan Declared Not To Be Legal China Terrain." This story, which appeared in the *China Press* on January 22, brought up the old argument frequently advanced in the past by some groups of Taiwanese nationalists, as well as some Americans with covetous eyes and certain unrepentant Japanese imperialists, to the effect that China has not yet acquired legal title to Taiwan because no peace treaty has yet been signed with Japan, the former owner. It is hardly necessary to point out that such an idea is pure nonsense.

* * *

ONE point which should be considered at this time is the overall prospect for an independent Taiwan, or even a remnant Nationalist regime based on Taiwan, to survive, either economically or militarily.

While there is no doubt that Taiwan is probably the richest piece of territory China possesses, it is still a relatively small island which is far from self-sufficient, if one considers anything more advanced than a simple agrarian society. The island's big crops, rice and sugar, rely largely upon imported fertilizer. Camphor, wood, oil and other native products depend upon imported machinery, foreign markets, etc. An independent Taiwan, even with a friendly China, would have a difficult time. What the situation would be like with an unfriendly China is difficult to imagine.

If the Generalissimo or other Nanking figures were to set up a "rump" government in Taiwan, they would have to receive outside help in order to carry on a prolonged struggle. Otherwise they shortly would run out of gasoline, spare parts, and replacements for their planes and oil for their naval vessels, to mention only a couple of the basic problems.

Such aid, obviously, would have to come from the United States. Thus, it would seem, the future of Taiwan can in large measure be determined, if American policy can be known. It is our personal opinion that the US Government will not commit itself to a long range program of aiding a refugee regime in Taiwan. Any advantages to be gained from such a move would be more than offset by the losses, both political and economic incurred on the China mainland. However, there are, as we mentioned before, various pressure groups which would like to see a change in the status of Taiwan, which they hope might be effected because of the confused situation prevailing on the mainland.

25 Years Ago in *The China Weekly Review*

January 26, 1924.

Cantonese Girls

Cantonese girls are beginning to invade the field of men in seeking employment in public places. The Canton Telephone Exchange now employs more girls than men. The *Fei Pei* weekly the other day published a list of 100 popular waitresses from 47 better-known restaurants and tea houses of the city. The same weekly also gives a list of 27 girls, singing in restaurants. These girls, it should be mentioned, are not those of the "sing-song" type who are usually attached to brothels. They are simply public singers who sing for all in the tea house.....

* * *

Chinese New Year

The proximity of Chinese New Year is responsible for sluggishness in business throughout the country. Buying is in small quantity, and few heavy commitments of any sort are being made. However, there is an undertone of confidence around Shanghai and in North China that business will improve considerably after the New Year. Canton and Hankow are not included in this feeling of optimism, due to their political troubles which present little hope of early improvement. The silver situation is quite satisfactory, and no trouble in passing New Year's is anticipated.

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

January 28, 1939.

Difficult Times

China has suffered three serious blows in the past 18 months. The first was the fall of Nanking on December 13, 1937, and the subsequent slaughter of Chinese troops and civilians. Next came the Japanese capture of Canton and Hankow within four days of each other in October, 1938. The last blow was the defection of Wang Ching-wei, erstwhile "deputy dictator" of the Chinese Government.

From the first two of these crushing blows China emerged with a growing determination to resist the invader. Wang's secret peace intrigue with Japan is still too recent to judge its result.

Wang's secret departure from Chungking to the safety of French Indo-China and his appeal to the country to surrender to Japan were not unexpected. Wang has always been an opportunist. Chou En-lai, Communist spokesman, voiced the feelings of thousands when he scathingly remarked: "I am not surprised. I have known Wang for 20 years and have always known him to be a quitter."

* * *

Cook To Empress Dowager

The "uncrowned king of all the cooks" in China died in Chungking January 23. He was Huang Ching-lin, 64 years old, and a scholar, who once cooked for the Empress Dowager. He suffered shock when Japanese planes bombed China's provisional capital January 15 and never recovered.

Huang Ching-lin was probably the most independent of all the cooks in the world. The date and time of a dinner had first to be fixed by him, while the list of guests had to be submitted to him for his approval.

He selected the dishes to be served and fixed his own prices for them. He only cooked in his own house, where the dinner was always served. Moreover, he only cooked once a day and for only one table.

THE BITTER PILL OF MAO TSE-TUNG

Andrew Roth

(Mr. Roth, an American newspaperman, has spent the past several years studying China and the Far East, both in America and abroad. A frequent contributor to the REVIEW, as well as to various newspapers and magazines in the United States, Mr. Roth is now in China.—Editor)

MAO Tse-tung has offered Nanking a choice: fight or flight. The announcement by the Communist leader of his eight conditions for peace talks has made it clear the Communists are more interested in a thoroughgoing domestic housecleaning and a pro-Soviet realignment internationally than in a quick peace.

Mao agreed to talk peace but only on the formidable conditions that virtually all present Kuomintang leaders be tried as "war criminals" and be excluded from a future Communist-led coalition government and army as "reactionaries." Furthermore, he stipulated cancellation of the present Kuomintang-devised constitution, confiscation of the wealth of the Kungs and Soongs, land reforms, and the end of "treacherous treaties" with the US.

The stiffness of the terms has stung a few to last-ditch resistance but seems to be hastening the move of Nanking leaders to follow their fortunes and fancy cars to Taiwan and America. It has punctured the trial balloons of those in Nanking like Vice-President Li Tsung-jen who thought that simply by dumping Chiang Kai-shek and accepting a subordinate position in a Communist-led coalition that they could cross over and retain a measure of power.

There is an old Chinese proverb: "Know yourself and know your enemy, and in a hundred battles gain a hundred victories." Despite this, Nanking's politicos have been as perplexed about what the Communists have in store for them as an adolescent girl on the eve of her first blind date.

The Communists' December announcement of a Kuomintang "war criminals' list" threw many into a flat spin, at a loss as to why certain people were included and others left out. Mao's January 14 announcement of "eight conditions" for peace have set many puzzling over the definition of "reactionaries." This bewilderment would scarcely seem necessary since China's Communists are among the most prolific publicists in the world. By checking their voluminous publications against reports by competent observers who have come out of Communist-held territories, a fairly clear picture emerges of the policies already governing 200,000,000 people and shortly to govern more.

Social Chisels

For the Communists, peace conditions and blacklists are social chisels, to be used to reshape the face of China. There has been much meaningless controversy over whether China's Communists are full-blooded Stalinists or merely agrarian democrats. Stalin himself has helped further the latter illusion, having told American envoy Donald Nelson that Chinese Communists are "like radishes, Red on the outside, White on the inside."

The truth is that Chinese Communists are in theory thoroughgoing Marxists of the Lenin-Stalin school whose tactics and timing have been conditioned by their quarter-century of work in the Chinese countryside. As Marxists, they think that society progresses from Feudalism through Capitalism into Socialism. China, they feel, is now largely feudal, particularly in the countryside, with capitalist influences in the port cities. They consider that China has remained semi-feudal and under-industrialized partly because the Western powers and Japan have sought to keep it as a vast market and because of the strong influence of China's own non-industrial ruling class. This class consists of the landlord-merchant-speculator group in the rural village and the "bureaucratic capitalist" in the city. "Bureaucratic capitalism" is a highbrow name for the "favored families" who have made their fortunes not by producing but by using their control of the government apparatus to line their personal pockets. It is they who have inspired the Chinese witticism: "In other countries people get rich and enter the government. In China they enter the government and get rich."

* * *

COMMUNIST blacklists and peace conditions have the purpose of decapitating (at least figuratively) the current ruling class. No figure in the present structure can hope to survive if the Communists consider him a serious obstacle to what they consider the "remnants of feudalism" in China's economy or to their attempt to end Nanking's "subservience" to Washington. "The enemies which this revolution is to overthrow," proclaimed Mao Tse-tung in a major programmatic speech last April, "are only and must be imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. The concentrated expression of these enemies is the reactionary rule of Chiang Kai-shek."

Mao does not think China can be taken directly from semi-feudalism into socialism. In his pamphlet "On Coalition Government" he has stated flatly: "Without a New-Democratic, united state, without the economic development of a New-Democratic nation, without the development of a private capitalist and cooperative economy, without the development of a national, scientific, popular and, namely, New-Democratic, culture, without the emancipation and development of the individuality of millions of people, in short, without the thorough, democratic revolution of a new-bourgeois nature, to establish socialism on the ruins of colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal China would be a Utopian dream." Briefly put, Mao advocates a "New Democracy" which is a transitional stage of Communist-supervised economic capitalism and Communist-led "bourgeois democracy."

Reshaping Villages

Although the world's attention has been concentrated on the fate of China's few world-known leaders, the most world-shaking changes are taking place in its hundreds of thousands of unknown villages. The Communists will stand or fall on their theory that to modernize China its agriculture must be rid of its feudal survivals and pass through a period of rural capitalism (agrarian democracy) before it can be socialized at some uncertain future when China's factories can turn out tractors.

"[Agrarian] feudalism is the ally of imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism and the foundation of their rule," Mao asserted last April. "Therefore the reform of the agrarian system is the main content of China's new democratic revolution. The general line of the agrarian reform is . . . to eliminate systematically and discriminatingly the feudal system of exploitation and develop agricultural production . . ."

By the "feudal system of exploitation" the Communists mean the setup by which a small group of landlord-merchant-speculators (a minority of about five percent of the village population) squeeze the countryside. They own almost half the land and grow fat by exacting rents of about 60 percent of the crops, usurious interest ranging as high as 60 percent and bulging profits from hoarding their share of the crops during famine periods. These old-style landlords do not use any of their wealth productively, that is to improve the land. On the contrary, they keep tenants so close to starvation that they cannot afford good seed, adequate fertilizer or enough simple implements to reach maximum productivity. The Communists figure that, by giving the landlords' lands to landless tenants and by reducing interest and tax burdens, these peasants will have enough surplus to reinvest in land improvement and raise productivity.

* * *

A political purge has paralleled this economic transfer in villages the Communists have occupied.

Previously the villages were usually controlled by a Kuomintang or Kuomintang-allied appointee representing the interests of the landlord-speculator-merchant class. Now the Communists have taken the dominant role but associate with themselves the poor and middle peasants, village school teachers and certain merchants.

In 1947, the Communists roughed up the rural wealthy in some sections in executing these economic and political purges: In many villages "People's Tribunals," largely composed of poor tenants, conducted economic trials called "Settling Accounts." Frequently landlords or rich peasants who had cheated heavily on rent or labor were not only stripped of their lands but also of their possessions. In some cases, particularly where the accused had collaborated with the Japanese or the Kuomintang police, landlords were executed.

This purge in the countryside apparently went "too far," aroused popular opposition and reduced production. Last April Mao Tse-tung attacked this tendency as a "leftist deviation" and warned strongly against forgetting "such an extremely [important] strategic principle as the fact that it is possible and necessary for us in agrarian reform work to unite around . . . ninety percent of the rural populations—the entire body of rural laboring people—to establish a united front against the feudal system." He also attacked "indiscriminate violence" against landlords, while declaring it is "entirely necessary and proper for People's Tribunals and the Democratic Government to sentence to death some important criminal elements who actively and seriously oppose the people's democratic revolution and sabotage reform work, namely, those counter-revolutionary and tyrannical elements whose crimes are enormous." Mao cautioned that the people must "feel that our work is entirely reasonable."

City Purges

Communist policies toward the cities have a single dominant keynote: production. In a number of important cases they have delayed taking cities such as Taiyuan and perhaps even Shanghai because they hope to get its industries intact without fighting. Their preliminary propaganda barrages heavily emphasize the workers and engineers staying at their posts, and when they enter their troops race to the important plants to prevent destruction. "When the kettle belonged to Chiang, we tried to break it," observed one Communist officer. "Now that it is ours, we want to preserve and use it."

The Communists have heavily emphasized the distinction between "bureaucratic capitalists" (or the "favored families") and "national capitalists" (or private industrialists). The "bureaucratic capitalists" are those who have accumulated their vast private fortunes through control of Government banks or other use of Government influence and do not produce or manufacture. Thus, for example, they have blackmailed various British and American exporters into giving them the agency for their products in China—on the threat that otherwise these products would be banned—and then frequently hoarded the products until they could make speculative profits. Foreign businessmen who have had to deal with them run the Communists a close second in their dislike for these "bureaucratic capitalists."

On the other hand, the Communists have made it clear both in program and in action in captured cities that, at least for the time being, they look with favor upon private *industrial* capitalists. The assumption is, apparently, that at least until China is able to build large state-owned industries, government-supervised but privately-owned factories will provide most of China's industrial muscles.

This attitude has emerged increasingly sharply. In his April speech, Mao Tse-tung warned against "infringing" upon commerce or industry and against "hitting at industry and commerce in the field of tax policy." Another leading Communist, Jen Pi-shih, has emphasized: "We must collect taxes from industry and commerce, but we must fix proper tax rates and we must see to it that they are not too heavy [or limit] their operations and development." Recent reports from Tsinan, Mukden and other industrial centers indicate Communist leaders there have gone all-out to make themselves agreeable to factory owners.

The Communists believe they can retain the support of Chinese industrialists because peace and agrarian reforms will provide a large internal market and both Communists and factory owners are opposed to the revival of Japanese industry and too much infiltration by American capital.

* * *

American "Running Dogs"

MANY people have affected surprise that Mao should have insisted on abrogating "treacherous treaties" with America as a peace condition. Similarly many were surprised to see Li Tsung-jen on the December "war criminals" list.

There is little reason for surprise because the Communists have long made it clear they wish to withdraw China from the American side of the "cold war." And more important, they have greatly feared the US will succeed in infiltrating a "fifth column" into the coalition government they plan for China. Their already-suspicious attitude was heightened by one of the late Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang's last letters in which he wrote that the US State Department had offered him heavy inducements if he would split with his Communist allies.

Leading Candidate

The Communists consider Vice-President Li Tsung-jen to be America's leading candidate to sabotage a Communist-led coalition from within. As early as last June they analyzed a pro-Li newspaper campaign campaign as follows: "To paint . . . such a man as Li as a liberal has its basic motive. A time will come when Chiang Kai-shek's ability to provide leadership for the reactionary forces will be exhausted. Li will provide an alternative . . . To salvage the privileges and properties of the reactionary forces from complete loss, the present ruling group will probably agree to the choice of Li . . . Their desire is to halt the popular forces before they reach the threshold of complete victory." On January 3 they charged that "Chinese reactionaries and the American aggressor . . . are inciting . . . persons to sneak into the revolutionary camp to form a so-called 'opposition force' to disrupt the revolution."

The Communists' "eight conditions" for peace make it clear they would prefer to continue the war rather than risk taking into their government an "opposition force" which may slow down their internal revolution or their international alignment with the Soviet Union.

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Popular Magazines Vanish

By C. Y. W. Meng

THE development of the press in China has been rather slow. In proportion to our population, our periodical circulation is pitifully small. One would think the Government would take all possible moves to encourage rapid development of the press and to provide the people with freedom of publication as the first step toward the development of democracy in China.

Since VJ Day, despite hard times and economic difficulties, a number of new weekly magazines have appeared in Nanking, Shanghai and Peiping to join the nation's leading periodicals: *Time and Culture*, *The Century Critic*, *The Reconstruction*, *The Observer*, *The University Review*, *The Outlook Weekly*, *The Central Reconstruction*, *The New Road*, *The Economic Review* and *The Economic Critic*—to mention only some of them.

The more liberal, progressive, nonpartisan and impartial the publication, the bigger has been its circulation. In bookshops and public reading rooms, there is always a great demand for magazines of this calibre.

This would appear to be a healthy sign for the growth of the nation, conclusive evidence of the development of national consciousness and rise of new intellectual ferment.

Any decent government would prize this new development and would take steps to promote its further growth, but unfortunately, what has been taking place recently in China shows clearly that the Government is going in just the opposite direction. Of the above-mentioned 10 leading magazines, half already have been closed by order of the Ministry of Interior. The latest case of this kind is the banning of *The Observer* and *The Outlook Weekly* in Shanghai and *The University Review* in Nanking.

As this takes place at a time when the Kuomintang has announced its readiness to talk peace with the Chinese Communist Party, Nanking's order to close these liberal and independent publications deserves a word of comment.

The Observer

According to an account published in *The University Review*, the banning of *The Observer*, which took place on December 26, 1948, was accompanied by the arrest of seven of its staff, including one assistant editor. When the office of *The Observer* was visited by the correspondent of *The University Review*, he found two uniformed officials from the Shanghai Garrison Headquarters in the office, watching the movements of other staff members and allowing them to see no one.

While the correspondent was there, a young man in uniform dropped into the office, and the following conversation took place:

"What have you come here for?" asked one of the Shanghai Garrison officials.

"I want to buy a copy of *The Observer*," answered the young man.

"Why do you want to read *The Observer?*" asked the official.

"Why do you ask me this question," asked the young man. "Do you think I have no right to read *The Observer?* I may tell you that most of my associates also like to read this magazine."

"Where do you come from? Do you have any pass?" asked the official.

"What right have you to ask about qualification and to demand the inspection of my pass? I want to see your order first," said the young man angrily.

"I have received no order," said the official.

"If you received no order, you have no right to inspect me," said the young man.

"Do you know what place this is? We permit only visitors to come in, and allow no one to get out," said the official, apparently feeling greatly embarrassed by the young man's sharp interrogatien.

"How do I know," answered the young man.

"Don't you know that *The Observer* has been banned from publication? Let me inform you that two days ago, we arrested 60 people who came to this office, including ordinary *lao pai hsing* (common people), and service men of army and air force. No matter who they are, we arrest them all. Show me your pass," demanded the garrison official.

Opening his pocket, this young man produced his badge and pass, which showed that he was also on the inspection division of the Shanghai Garrison Headquarters.

"You are also a Garrison Headquarters man are you not?" exclaimed the official.

"Yes I am, we are members of one family," answered the young man.

The story ends there. But it is eloquent testimony to the fact that *The Observer* was well received by the people and service men alike, and even the staff from the very headquarters which had closed down the publication and had arrested its staff members.

The correspondent of *The University Review* reported that for two days all those who visited the office of *The Observer* were immediately placed under arrest, including even the newspaper and magazine sellers who came to return the unsold copies of *The Observer*.

As to the editor of *The Observer*, Professor Chu An-ping of the National Futan University, it was reported that he left Shanghai two weeks ago, and his whereabouts are not now known.

The University Review

The next leading magazine to go out of existence was *The University Review*, edited by Professor Liu Po-tung of Nanking University and a leading member of the liberal group of the Legislative Yuan. *The University Review* recently received wide attention among Chinese readers with the publication in its November 20 issue of "Two Open Letters for Peace," written by some 80 professors in Nanking and addressed to President Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung, leader of the Chinese Communist Party. The letters said:

"We realize that the only way to save ourselves is to stop the Civil War immediately and seek peace.

"Only through the re-opening of peace talks among the progressives, liberals, democratic parties and social leaders, and the organization of a multi-party and democratic government based on democratic principles and a socialist economy, striving vigorously toward the enforcement of various measurements for the realization of economy equality and for maintenance of the independence of the nation, can we release the people from suffering."

The January 1 issue of *The University Review* discussed five possibilities for a "coalition government" in China, and published other special articles on peace. In the January 8 issue, the magazine tackled the "Five Peace Terms" mentioned in President Chiang Kai-shek's New Year Message to the nation, and concluded that "in order to realize peace, we must reconsider these peace terms."

The University Review was the only publication in the country which had the courage to raise a bitter protest against the banning of *The Observer* and the arrest of its staff. No less than 2,471 copies of the last issue of *The University Review* reportedly were confiscated by the Shanghai police.

The Outlook Weekly

The Outlook Weekly, another popular magazine, is also reportedly scheduled to go out of existence after its January 22 issue. Whether it is to be banned "permanently from publication" is not quite sure, as no further details were available at the time of writing.

In no case was there any specific reason given for the closure of these popular magazines. The closure order for *The Observer* charged the magazine had been "consistently anti-Government and sympathetic to the Communist bandits" but failed to list any instances beyond stating the magazine had attacked the Government, ridiculed the Nationalist troops, propagandized for the Reds and disturbed the people's minds.

Time and Culture and *The Reconstruction* were permitted to publish a "last issue" in which the editors had an opportunity to present their

case and to state their grievance to their readers. But this privilege was denied *The Observer* and *The University Review*.

There is no doubt that the banning of *The Observer*, *The University Review* and *The Outlook Weekly* in rapid succession has made a bad and deep impression on many observers, foreign as well as Chinese.

In the first place, had this taken place at a time when the so-called "bandit-suppression campaign" was still in full swing, the Government might have pleaded military necessity. But after the formation of the Sun Fo cabinet and the pronouncement of the President's New Year Message to the nation, it is hard to see any reason for the Government to suppress the many independent and liberal publications which are known to be devoted to the cause of peace in China. Such action at once raises the question: "Are the Government leaders sincere in wanting peace?" The *University Review*, in its protest over the order to ban *The Observer*, characterized the Government's action as "diametrically opposed to peace."

Moreover, the Government has apparently overlooked one important fact. The liberal and independent magazines which it is trying to suppress are extremely popular. Consequently, in banning them, the Government exposes itself to the charge that it is acting "contrary to the public wish."

In taking these actions, the leaders in Nanking have shown glaringly their failure to grasp the realities of the situation. They do not seem to realize that what is most needed at the present critical moment is not to close the mouths of the people but, on the contrary, to open them—to give the people freedom to discuss peace, and to gather together the leading liberals, non-partisans and social leaders to act as a bridge over which the two opposing parties can negotiate peace.

The President's New Year Message would have produced greater weight had it been accompanied by an order to abolish the many "Special Criminal Courts" throughout the country, to release political prisoners and those who have been under detention for many months awaiting trial, to lift the ban on the Democratic League and to allow free publication of magazines and other publications. At no other time in the modern history of China has the nation been so in need of the service of liberals and non-partisans as it is at present. I refer Nanking to the following advice:

"The salvation of the situation, as I see it, would be the assumption of leadership by the liberals in the Government, and in the minority parties, a splendid group of men, but who as yet lack the political power to exercise a controlling influence."—George C. Marshall.

That is the "road to peace" in China. That is the direction in which we should go.

South Honan:

An Island Of Nationalist Territory

CHANG LI-TSAN

DURING my winter vacation, I returned to my native place of Hsinyang in Honan Province after an absence of nearly four years.

Hsinyang, an important but weakly-garrisoned city on the Peiping-Hankow line, is one of the four hsien cities in Honan remaining in Nationalist hands, and it now houses the Honan provincial government, headed by General Chang Chen.

Although there has been a long lull in the military situation, the Nationalists here face grim and gloomy prospects. It was rumored recently that the city of Hsinyang will be readily abandoned when the occasion requires, as there is but one regiment of infantry troops stationed here. All schools have closed for the winter vacation, and some have left for Hunan Province because of what lies ahead.

In this small area of south Honan, like other parts of China, the Nationalists have paid lip service to reforms, but there are no signs of improvement, either political, social or economic. Instead, things are rapidly falling to pieces. Most of the rich people and hereditary noblemen who used to oppress the poor and exploit the peasants have gone away. Those who remain still live on the produce of the peasants and, far from realizing that their "sunny days" are almost over, foolishly indulge in wishful thinking that the Nationalist or even US armies will come eventually to restore their power and prestige.

With the Civil War raging intermittently in this area, small land owners who cannot afford the high prices of commodities in the city have taken to living in the countryside and hiding themselves in fortified castles—the same castles as in feudalistic days. These land owners adopt a "double-face" policy; they pay tax to both the Nationalist hsien government and the local Communists.

At the same time, they try to squeeze as much as possible from their tenant farmers, though they must know that the peasantry is becoming stronger than ever before. High-interest money lending, conscription, maid slavery, corrupt bureaucracy and the notorious *pao-chia* system are all in full sway. I, myself, have seen poor *lai pai hsing* being illegally drafted and dragged away to an induction center.

As regards the life of the peasantry, they sow in the spring and reap in the autumn. In leisure hours, they grow vegetables for their own use or to sell, or go to the hills to gather branches and twigs to sell in the city in order to make a little money to buy clothes for their children.

From what I have heard, farmers in the Communist areas enjoy a more comfortable life than those here. Red land reform has not yet been effected here, perhaps owing to the fact that Red authority is not so deeply rooted. But in central Honan things are said to be quite different. Merchants coming back from there tell stories about how the Reds conduct business and how the rural society is changing.

The recent "peace offensive" launched by the Nationalists reportedly has been rejected by the Communists. Why did they turn a deaf ear to it? The reason is not so simple as the Nationalists say. To us *lao pai hsing*, the so-called "peace call" is nothing but a trick. It was made because the Central Government is losing the war. If the Kuomintang had really wanted peace, there would not have been this long drawn out "bandit-suppression campaign" which is now reaching such an unfavorable conclusion.

From where I sit, I can see no possible compromise between the privileged class and the poor workingmen and peasants. The former are too corrupt and the latter too poverty-stricken. As for the middle class, they too can harbor no hope for a peaceful and plentiful life under the present regime. Today is dark and stormy, but tomorrow will usher in a new era.

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BRITISH BUSINESS GAINS HEAD START

Oliver Lane

AMERICAN businessmen in China today seem to be weighing their own government's policy against that of Britain insofar as their own prospects are concerned. A recent editorial in the Shanghai *Evening Post and Mercury* expressed this feeling when it said: "If American Old China Hands are shocked by Washington's failure to adjust tactics to realities, this is partly because we see a more sophisticated approach in other quarters, and had hoped that the United States had come of age in international affairs. . . What we mean is that the British are always in there trying."

Fly-by-nights

The post-war period has brought American businessmen no substantial gain in China. While there have been a few fly-by-nights who got rich quick—the dentist who sold his equipment in Shanghai immediately after the war for as much as he could earn in five years and the agent who cleared nearly half a million dollars on the sale of 1,000 jeeps—these are exceptions.

Smaller business in particular have experienced difficulties. Import-export quotas have been grabbed by Government monopolist groups, costs pushed to exorbitant heights by the failure of exchange rates to keep up with inflation, and labor problems increased by the necessity of workers to live on an unbacked currency in an inflationary period. Even well-established firms with long histories in China have lost ground to the bureaucratic capitalist undertakings. As a final affront, it has been impossible for business to take profits out of the country by any but illegal means.

American Dilemma

American businessmen lay the blame for most of this at the feet of the Nationalist Government. And the United States, by prolonged aid to that Government, has now added to the dilemma of American business. Anti-American sentiment and demonstrations have been fairly frequent during the past two years. American business could brush aside this hostility when it was confined to students and intellectuals, but now, with the Nationalists retreating south of the Yangtze, it cannot be dismissed lightly. The incoming authority is likely to be one whose soldiers have been killed by American bullets and whose leaders have voiced frequent denunciation of American policy.

Though their interests may have been selfish, the American businessmen, on the whole, have been more farsighted than American policy makers. Cognizant of the corruption and inefficiency of the Nationalists, they have by and large opposed additional aid to the Chinese bureaucracy and insisted on close supervision where any assistance was given. Their own interests have led them towards realism, and they now want to stay in China, look at the new regime and weigh their chances with it, much as they may oppose Communism as a doctrine.

Communist Welcome

News from the Liberated Areas, including the recently captured city of Tientsin, has been somewhat encouraging. Missionaries, Chinese businessmen and travellers have reported increasingly favorable conditions, returning economic stability, reasonable rates of exchange between local and foreign currency, and considerable freedom. The Communists themselves have proffered a welcome to foreign enterprise.

But, at the same time, American businessmen have reason to be disturbed over the apparent head start gained by British business. There is evidence that preparations for this situation were made some time ago. The British-owned Kailan mines, for example, is reported to have laid the groundwork for inclusion in Communist territory over a year ago. When it finally fell, in December, it

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fell intact and within a few days was back in production.

Hongkong, too, has provided the British with initial advantages. The refuge given to Nanking dissidents may pay dividends later, and with the fall of Manchurian ports, trade with North China has become a direct and profitable undertaking. Almost immediately a Norwegian ship cleared anchor for Antung once news of its capture by the Communists had been confirmed, and soya beans, a much sought after commodity on world markets, are already passing through Hongkong to Europe.

The British can count on another very important factor—their comparative coolness to the present regime. Britain has delivered some aid to Nanking—a few naval vessels, some shipments of ammunition and some Canadian Mosquitos—but these have been submerged by the volume of American aid.

British firms also have suffered during this postwar period. Old companies failed to regain their prewar status; shipping, in which British investment was heavy, was forced out of inland waters; and British consumer goods lost heavily to American. But Britain's popularity, at a low ebb during the war, has waxed as America's has waned. Her non-interference in Chinese affairs has made her more acceptable to Chinese liberals, and her position under any subsequent government is likely to benefit thereby.

Cold Comfort

To American business in China, this more fortunate position of the British is cold comfort. American businessmen turn from reading the mimeographed sheets mailed by Communist and liberal groups urging them to stay and offering to provide stable conditions to a consideration of their own Government's attitude, and they find it hard to determine just what it is. The American Embassy chooses to stay in Nanking because the Nationalist delay in removing the seat of the Government has given it an excuse for refusing to go on the score of insufficient time to plan an evacuation. American officials also want to see how the new regime looks. Yet other political figures in the United States declare it is impossible to work with a coalition or Communist government in China, and *Business Week*, to which American businessmen turn for guidance on their government's policies, considers it unlikely that trade with a Communist China will be countenanced.

In China itself, State Department officials dicker with warlord groups which have detached themselves from the control of Chiang Kai-shek, in the hope of discovering some still capable of wresting a compromise from the Communists, and seek for the middle-of-the-road parties fragmented and broken by the very man behind whom America threw its support.

But the British, with a less restrictive government, can see opportunities for trade under a new Chinese government—and perhaps less American competition. They realize the needs of China, whether Communist or coalition, are great and that Russia cannot supply them. They know the demands of reconstruction are so great that, for 20 years or more, China will be eager to trade with any country open to her, and the British want to get in first.

British ships therefore are sailing to Tientsin over the protests of the Shanghai shipping guilds, who are now reported organizing to provide some competition and a report that the British are tying up the Manchurian soya bean crop, probably false, is nonetheless worrying financial circles.

* * *

Back To Normalcy Dept.

"Owing to a typographical error there appeared in.....yesterday morning's paper the expression 'It is quite obvious that progress is synonymous with change.' This, of course, should have read, 'It is quite obvious that progress is not synonymous with change.'"—*China Daily Tribune*, January 11, 1948.

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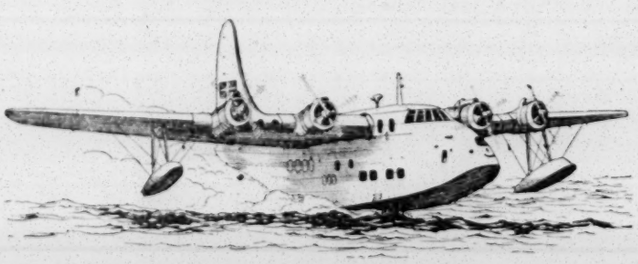

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A Plea For Malthus

J. R. Kaim

IN spite of tremendous technical achievements and our new knowledge of atomic energy, one of the greatest problems of humanity is seldom discussed in public and rarely touched on by leading politicians throughout the world. It is the problem of famine. As matters stand today, neither capitalism in its different forms nor socialism in its two main forms offers a direct solution.

It has frequently been said, but never proved, that if China's administration were neither corrupt nor incapable, this country could feed its population without foreign aid and could even ship rice and flour to the world's starvation centers. The fact is, however, that very seldom, if ever, could China do so, and it is the same with India and various other Asiatic, African and European countries. In fact, despite modern agricultural machinery and fertilizers, the world still faces the same problem as it did 200 years ago.

As early as 1798, T. R. Malthus, an English clergyman and economist, stated his theory, now known as Malthusianism, that the population increases faster than the food supply and that the birth rate must be limited to avoid overpopulation and starvation. From time to time, people remembered Malthus. From time to time, economists and politicians of different creeds showed the consequences of "the poor man's only pleasure" and demanded not, as Malthus himself, temperance or even abstinence, but a full system of birth control.

Population Boom

Fascist countries, of course, did not care. Hitler and Mussolini both put premiums on bringing forth children. They granted special payments to families with more than three and particularly large rewards to mothers with more than five children. Nor did the population decrease after the war. France, where the birth rate was small before the war, announced a birth surplus in 1946 and in 1947. News from the United States indicated a "population boom" last year. In certain parts of Germany the birth rate in 1947 was as high as in 1938, namely 17.2 compared with 17.6 at the time of the Nazis' birth premiums. On the whole, Europe now has about 20,000,000 more inhabitants than before the war, despite the loss of life brought on by the war, and its after-effects. In Japan, the birth rate has doubled since VJ Day and the Indian continent is estimated to have 60,000,000 more inhabitants at present than in 1930.

To believe that the food supply can be increased in concert with such a rapid population increase is naive. The world today probably has almost 150,000,000 more inhabitants than in 1945 when the war ended and is seeing more starvation and misery than ever before. The impossibility of finding a way out of the maze of difficulties in this respect may have been one of the reasons prompting the resignation of Sir John Boyd Orr from the presidency of the World Food Board as an indirect protest against the unwillingness of nearly all governments to recognize the problem and to look for a practical solution.

Preached Temperance

Getting back to Malthus, however, there is validity in the argument of those who claim that with science developing ever new means to increase food production, the quantities produced nowadays are far bigger than around 1800. Yet Malthus never doubted such possibilities. He simply stated that when mankind is permitted to bring forth children without limitation, the population would always increase faster than the food supply. In fact, Malthus could not have foreseen so rapid a population increase as has been realized since his death, nor, of course, could he, a clergyman living in the 19th century favor any artificial birth control. Emphatically he rejected what he considered sinful arts. He merely urged people not to bring forth more children than they may be sure to find food for, by earnestly preaching temperance.

Throughout the past two centuries, the idea of birth control has been fought by either the churches or the states. While the former consider it a sin against the Lord's rule, the latter wanted cannon fodder, still the cheapest war potential throughout the world. But neither the different churches nor the different states and their governments have been able to guarantee mankind that sufficient food will be available.

Unlike socialism, Malthusianism is not a problem of distribution but of production, and at the same time it certainly is a matter of conscience. One certainly does not like to tell people that even in normal supply years, i.e. when harvests are at their best, millions of people die from malnutrition and starvation. Estimates are that in such years of good harvests no less than 20,000,000 people die because population exceeds food supply. Those governing a nation, any nation of course, cannot perform miracles; they cannot feed the people without foodstuffs, but they can see to it that the population increase comes to an end.

While Fascism considers birth control a crime, while most churches regard it as a sin, and while capitalism thinks it may be replaced by public welfare institutions, the views of socialists in this respect differ widely. There are some who believe Marxism can solve the problem because, as they see it, it is not a matter of production (which is too small) but of distribution (which is not organized). There are others who doubt that Malthus' problem can be solved by Marxist practice. So far as this writer knows, Marx himself has not dealt with the Malthus problem, but his closest friend and collaborator, Engels, called Malthus' idea the "greatest economic immorality," while on the contrary, another Marxist, Kautsky, claimed, "Malthusianism is not yet finished."

Recently, people who are neither Communists nor Social Democrats were reported to have mapped out a World Population Control Plan which, they are said to believe, will solve the whole problem. Such optimism, however, is strange in a world where even far smaller disputes cannot be solved and where even bagatelles such as import restrictions and controls need long negotiations before accords are reached (or mostly not reached). So long as the foundation of a world government remains a dream and so long as governments dare not recognize the old Malthus problem, the world has but two means to fight the consequences of overpopulation: By forcing more people into the process of agricultural production and by introducing birth control, at least in industrialized areas, so that the ratio between the increase of population and the increase of food supplies may be normalized to a certain extent.

Vicious Circle

While nowadays almost all economists agree that industrialization can improve the standard of living in overpopulated territories, it is a matter of fact that by industrializing a certain area one diminishes its agricultural production. Furthermore, the quantity of foodstuffs available for the older industrial nations must decline when the new industrial countries need their own agricultural products for their own populations. It is true that the birth rate generally is smaller in industrial than in rural districts. It may also be true that the wealthier the population of an area, the smaller the birth rate. However, the more industries that are developed and the more hands that are employed in industrial production, the smaller the total food supply—indeed, it seems a vicious circle.

It needs no explanation that even the greatest extent of destruction in a new war would not solve the Malthus problem. Were mankind mad enough to start such a war, the food problem would grow rather than

diminish. Agricultural production would decline still further. Even atom bombs, murderous as they are, would not kill as many people as would be born during and shortly after the war. Thus, destruction of human lives certainly is no remedy. In fact, even by forcing more hands into agricultural production, one can only solve part of the problem. The real solution, therefore, can be found only in birth control.

Yet, one can hardly imagine that such control could be forced upon peoples who dislike the idea. There are peoples who are proud of producing large numbers of children without even so much as pondering about how to feed them; China, it seems, is one of such countries. Japan and India are two more and Italy and Germany seem to be occidental examples. The birth rate, of course, may be considered an individual or perhaps a national affair, not an international one. But it can no longer be of individual or national consequence when the world's scarce food reserves must be shared with the nations with high birth rates. The food problem is growing rapidly and may soon endanger mankind as much as the atomic bomb. Stockpiling of foodstuffs, as planned at present, can help only temporarily, if at all. To increase the world's agricultural output too, cannot help, for the uncontrolled population increase will be faster. Nor can solution of the distribution problem help so long as there is not enough to be distributed. The only way, therefore, seems to be to listen to Malthus' teachings, but to reach his goal by modern means.

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The Week's Business

DURING the week ending January 25, business, of course, was impressed by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's retirement, but any who might have expected that the Gimo's decision would facilitate business affairs and force commodity prices down were disillusioned. While commodity prices showed further, though slight, increases, the exchange market was rather steady and even the highest quotation throughout the week under review was below those quoted at the beginning of this month.

On the other hand, with the Lunar New Year approaching, retail prices of textiles and leather goods showed some declines and the demand by the public was described as comparatively satisfactory, "though far below last year".

One of the well known Chinese exporters of China produce was reported last week to have gone bankrupt. This firm, the Tung On Company, was engaged in Swatow trade and in exports to the United States.

While no other bankruptcy of importance became known, it is a fact that exporters in general were facing difficulties. The Certificate rate which had been around GY 200 the week before, came down to GY 170, thus rendering legitimate exports again difficult. The Certificate rate, on which exporters depend, thus was about 25 percent below the open (black) market rate.

Speculation was reported to be strong on the real estate market, but while there were many inquiries, actual buying and selling seems very slow and prices are coming down still further. On the other hand, reports from Taiwan indicated that the demand for houses and land increased again and prices were higher than ever before. Japanese property on the island is now going to be sold at cheaper prices, it was reported.

Getting back to local conditions, business was brisk on the cotton yarn market but very slow on the chemical markets where dealers were not interested in buying more than was necessary to cover the regular demand—and occasionally not even this. Among the reasons given by dealers for such reluctance was that such goods might be considered necessities and might be under special control should political conditions change here.

Dealers in jewelry stated that due to many offers being received from people going to leave China, prices were down. Many firms were refusing to consider buying offers.

Meanwhile, Chinese shipping quarters last week were reported to have strongly protested the use of foreign vessels for transportation of coal from North China to Shanghai. Chinese shipping firms, they explained, will be quite able to handle that business and there is no need to employ foreign bottoms. At the same time, it was announced that Japanese coal had been shipped to China and that 9,000 tons had arrived in Tsingtao.

News that the Stock Exchange would be reopened on February 2 was greeted with scepticism. It was explained that while the Exchange may be reopened, it may be taken for granted that quotations will drop from the very start. In this respect, it was shown that during the week under review trading on the (black) share market was extremely erratic, with most shares gaining during the morning hours but declining in the afternoon when news from Nanking arrives. Such news has not been very encouraging of late—from the standpoint of shareholders—especially now that it appears that to obtain the aid of liberal political groups in the coming peace negotiations will be no easy job. With all sides of the political picture being somewhat unclear, brokers are doubtful that in so uncertain an atmosphere the stock market will attract many buyers—though probably it will attract quite a few sellers.

News from other parts of China received during the week was incomplete. Interest, of course, was focussed on news from Tientsin and Peiping, but information was by no means satisfactory. The general impression was, however, that business was going on and that, contrary to what had been anticipated by some people, trading was rather brisk. So far, nothing has yet indicated that business is being hampered by too many restrictions. On the contrary, local Chinese businessmen assert that when the political situation is clarified, trade with the north will be better than during the past few months.

Hongkong firms, which a week ago were reported to have shipped cargo to North China ports, apparently have not yet announced anything with regard to their experiences in this respect. News from Hongkong merely stated that regular business transactions would be possible. It did not say much about the basis on which such trade was supposed to be developed.

On the other hand, other Hongkong reports stated that trade between the Colony and the mainland has almost come to a standstill. Trading with Hankow, too, is extremely slow at present, according to one report, and at a standstill according to another.

Trading with cities situated up the Yangtze also is very slow. Dealers here are afraid to purchase or to advance any amounts for future delivery, it was explained. Not only shipments from Yangtze ports but also to Yangtze ports have declined drastically during January.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

G'mo Retires As KMT Talks Peace; Peiping Falls, Reds Near Yangtze

IN the face of the rapid Communist drive on the Nationalist capital, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek announced his retirement from the presidency of the Chinese Republic and left Nanking on January 21. News of the Gimo's departure was sensational, but not unexpected. It had been whispered for some time that he was leaving either for the time being or for good.

Chiang said in his farewell message to the Chinese people that he had decided to "retire with the hope that the hostilities may be brought to an end and the people's suffering relieved."

Vice-President Li Tsung-jen automatically became acting president, in accordance with Article 49 of the Chinese Constitution which provides that "in the event that the President, for any reason, is unable to perform his functions, his duties and powers shall be exercised by the Vice-President."

Political observers attach great importance to the legal procedure and technicalities involved in Chiang's departure. The general impression is that Chiang is down but not yet completely out. The *United Press* reported January 21 from Nanking: "Chiang used the Chinese words *yin t'ui* to describe his departure from Nanking. This means temporary leave of absence. Chiang's retirement, therefore, would be temporary, not permanent, at this stage and under the Chinese Constitution, it could not be classified as outright resignation. It was understood that he chose temporary retirement instead of permanent resignation because he wished to leave the way open for his possible return to power in case peace negotiations with the Communists should fail."

* * *

Preparations For Future

AS part of the preparations for the future, Generalissimo Chiang made an important series of reshuffles in local Nationalist army commands covering practically the whole area south of the Yangtze River. Governor T. V. Soong of Kwangtung was replaced by General Hsu Yueh and his concurrent post as director of the Canton Pacification Bureau was taken up by General Yu Han-mou, commander-in-chief of the Nationalist armies. General Chen Cheng, governor of Taiwan, future Nationalist base of operations, was named concurrently garrison commander on the island. A new pacification command was created in Foochow, strategic gateway to Taiwan, to be headed by General Chu Shao-liang, whose vacancy as director of the pacification bureau at Chungking was filled by General Chang Chun. Qualified observers pointed out that all the new commanders are known to be Chiang's trusted followers.

In addition, the Nanking-Shanghai garrison command was elevated into the Nanking-Shanghai Army Headquarters, with General Tang En-po in charge.

In spite of current talk about peace, the Government is still forging ahead with shipments of gold and silver holdings, industrial equipment, war supplies, government personnel and archives to Foochow, Canton and Taiwan. Responsible government leaders and official newspapers make no secret of the full determination of the Nationalists to fight the Reds south of the Yangtze River if the Communists should refuse to come to terms.

The Communists were rather suspicious of the motives behind Chiang's retirement. They charged that Chiang had retired at the "prompting" of the United States Government. A Communist broadcast monitored by the *Associated Press* said among other things: "Chiang's retirement and Li Tsung-jen's take over of the bogus presidency is all at the prompting of the American Government, which supported Li for vice-president with this very purpose in mind. Liberated area newspapers noted the prediction by foreign news agencies at Nanking that Chiang's failure to announce his formal resignation is designed to leave the way open for his return later. The fact is also noted that Chiang placed notoriously reactionary warlords like Chen Cheng, Hsueh Yueh, Chu Shao-liang, Yu Han-mou and Chang Chun in the various southern provinces before his retirement.

* * *

Li's Belated Efforts

ACTING President Li Tsung-jen was reported in the press to be fully determined to do his best to talk peace with the Communists. With the cooperation and backing of the elder statesmen of the Kuomintang, he ordered a series of sweeping reforms to demonstrate his "sincerity" for peace. Among these measures are: (1) Abolition of martial law except in the fighting zone, (2) abolition of the special criminal courts set up to deal with political and economic violations of the so-called seditious elements, (3) cessation of all activities of the secret agents of the Kuomintang, (4) abolition of the right to imprison without regard to the law, (5) lifting of all restrictions which banned newspapers and magazines, (6) release of all political prisoners, (7) disbanding of all Communist suppression headquarters and the establishment of military and political administrations.

The Kuomintang Central Executive Committee on January 24 also restored Marshal Li Chi-sen's membership in the party. It will be recalled that Li was expelled from the party as the result of his anti-Nanking activities in Hongkong. Li is now in North China, conferring with Communist and other democratic leaders on the convocation of a new political consultative conference for the eventual establishment of a coalition government. General Li Tsung-jen also sent letters to Li Chi-sen and other democratic leaders in North China, asking for their views on the current situation and inviting them to come to Nanking for conferences.

General Li Tsung-jen also is reported in the press to have sent personal emissaries to different places to establish contact. It is understood that Mr. Kan Chia-hou, political adviser to the acting president, was in Shanghai seeing Madame Sun Yat-sen and members of the Democratic League. General Huang Shao-hsiung was sent to Hongkong on a similar mission. Mr. Huang Chi-sing and Mr. Liu Chung-hua, personal representatives of Li Tsung-jen and General Pai Chung-hsi, were in Peiping seeking to contact the Communists through the mediation of General Fu Tso-yi.

A five-man delegation has been appointed by Nanking to re-open talks with the Communists. The delegation represents all the major cliques inside the Kuomintang. Shao Li-tze, chief delegate, represents the independent left of center liberal group. Chang Chih-chung is a leader of the Whampao Clique dominating the Chinese army. Peng Chao-hsien belongs to the rightist CC Clique. Huang Shao-hsiung is a member of the Kwangsi Clique headed by Li Tsung-jen and Pai Chung-hsi. Chung Tien-tsin is a leading member of the Sun Fo Clique.

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Difficulties Ahead

WELL-INFORMED sources pointed out that despite Li Tsung-jen's desperate efforts to make peace with the Communists, there are still serious difficulties ahead. For one thing, the reforms ordered by Li have come too late. The military situation has already taken a dramatic turn and there is no stopping it. Besides, it still remains to be seen how the reforms actually will be carried out in Nationalist China by the local authorities.

Reuter reported January 22 from Nanking: "Observers, seeking an answer to the permanency of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's retirement were asking these questions: First, does Li Tsung-jen control the gold and the other assets of the Central Bank which were transferred southward from Shanghai? Second, does General Chen Cheng, appointed by Chiang as both governor and garrison commander of the fortified island of Taiwan, recognize Li's authority as acting President? If the answers to both these questions are negative Li might find himself making a settlement with the Communists on one hand without being able to deliver national assets, including the bank's gold and rich Taiwan, to whatever authority is established."

General Tang En-po, Commander-in-chief of the Nanking-Shanghai Army Headquarters, told a press conference in Shanghai on January 24 that there would be no release of political prisoners, or lifting of martial law unless the Communists cease fire and a concrete peace agreement has been reached between the Government and the Communists.

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Peiping Falls

ONE week after the surrender of Tientsin, Peiping fell to the Communists on January 22 without a single shot being fired. After long weeks of hard bargaining, General Fu Tso-yi, Nationalist Commander-in-Chief for North China, and the Communists finally reached an agreement for a peaceful take-over. The cease-fire became effective at 10 a.m. January 22 and the Nationalists started pulling out of the city. A joint Communist-Nationalist Office has been created to handle military and political affairs during the transition period. Public utilities are functioning smoothly and railway communication with Kalgan and Tientsin was restored within 24 hours. The postal and telecommunication services with the outside world also are functioning as usual.

The localized peace concluded in Peiping is bound to have far reaching consequences, most observers agree. First, the conclusion of regional peace has disastrously weakened Nanking's bargaining power in future peace talks with the Chinese Communists. If more localized peace agreements of this kind are reached, it would inevitably lead to a complete bankruptcy of Central authority, and Nanking would find it extremely difficult, if not utterly impossible, to speak in the name of Nationalist China as a whole. Second, Peiping's peace agreement will doubtless set the pattern for localized peace elsewhere in China. *AP* reported January 23 from Peiping:

"Peiping might be the guinea pig for Nanking itself, Shanghai and other cities which might find themselves in the same plight as Peiping was. In fact, the Peiping formula could easily become a national one. Political quarters believe that General Fu Tso-yi might arrange a local peace at Taiyuan and Tatung in Shansi and Kweisui, the capital of Suiyuan."

In this connection, it is interesting to read an *AP* story dated January 23 from Peiping which disclosed that plans to extend peace to the remaining parts of North China are under way. General Tung Chi-wu, governor of Suiyuan, flew from Peiping to Kweisui January 23, carrying documents which presumably provide for a change-over there.

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Drive On Nanking

WHILE Nanking is still talking about peace, more than 100,000 Communist troops of General Chen Yi's armies are reported to be attacking Nationalist outposts a few miles north of the Yangtze River. According to press reports, Communist crossing of the river between Nanking and Chinkiang, 40 miles to the east, appeared imminent.

Liuho, 15 miles due north of Nanking, fell January 24 and Red troops are reported to be marching toward Puchen, main Nationalist outpost six miles north of Nanking. Towns reported to have fallen along the Nationalist outer defense screen of the Yangtze River are Taihing, Taihsien, Yangchow, Lainan, Hofei, Chuhsien and Chaoshan. Between Icheng, Yangchow and Taihing, the Communists have reached the north bank of the Yangtze.

Southwest of Nanking at Wuhu, well-known river crossing, General Liu Po-cheng's armies are said to be moving south between Nanking and Hankow. It is further reported that heavy Communist troop movements have been spotted at several points in Honan more than 200 miles north of Hankow. The troops are supposed to belong to General Liu Po-cheng and General Chen Keng, probably moving down the Peiping-Hankow Railway towards the Wuhan cities. One force of about 60,000 men is said to be gathering at Loho, about 30 miles north of Chumatien. Another force, smaller in number, is said to be concentrating at Lushan, about 30 miles northwest of Loho. A third force of about 2,000 men has been discovered at Sintsai, 66 miles northwest of the Nationalist-held town of Sinyang.

It is generally believed that by the time this issue of the *Review* reaches our readers, the battle for the Yangtze River may have begun in force.

From the military point of view, the defense of Nanking is weak. As the Nationalists have abandoned their strategic centers north of the Yangtze, the capital is now at the mercy of Red artillery. *AP* reported January 19 from Nanking:

"Observers said Nanking may become another Tientsin—a prey to artillery fire and encirclement. They watched the hasty defense preparations around the capital and found them exceedingly weak. General Tang En-po, charged with defending the capital, is willing to fight. But observers note he has little left to fight with—even for a holding action. He is believed to have 150,000 men to guard the Yangtze River line. The Reds can throw at him twice that many men, mostly veterans, fresh from wiping out some of Chiang Kai-shek's best troops on the Hsuchow front."

Time Table Of Nationalist Defeats

Shown here are key Nationalist cities that have fallen to the Communists since the start of their Manchurian drive: Tsinan, September 24; Chinhsien, October 14; Chefoo, October 17; Changchun, October 19; Kaifeng, October 24; Mukden, October 30; Paoting, November 22; and Hsuchow, December 2. Maps have a hard time keeping up with current developments, and to this one should be added: Kalgan, December 23; Tientsin, January 15; Pengpu, January 20; and Peiping, January 22.

Chinese Magazine Roundup

Perspective

THE *Perspective Magazine* of January 25 discusses the highly interesting question as to whether Shanghai will become a battleground if the Communists penetrate into the south bank of the Yangtze River. Its answer to the question is in the negative.

The magazine first studies the possibility of the Red's attempt to cross the river and comes to the conclusion that crossings most probably will be made in the two provinces of Kiangsu and Anhwei.

"The battle for the Yangtze River is likely to take place in three regions," the article says. "The eastern section of the Government's defense line lies between Nantung and Chinkiang in Kiangsu. The middle section runs from Pukow in Kiangsu to Tatung in Anhwei. The western section covers Hsinyang and Hsiangyang, threatening Hankow and the Yangtze in west Hupeh.

"A close study of the map will show that the Reds are most likely to attempt crossings along the eastern and middle sections and at such places as Chingchiang, Kiangyin, K'ouan, Yangchung, Chinkiang, Lungtan in Kiangsu and somewhere near Wuhu in Anhwei."

According to the analysis made by the magazine, the reasons why Shanghai will not become a battlefield are four in number.

The first is Communist strategy. "If the Communists should succeed in crossing the Yangtze," it points out, "their next move, as indicated by the strategy and tactics they have adopted so far, would be to turn the Nationalists' flank instead of conducting a series of frontal attacks against the cities and stations along the Nanking - Shanghai Railway. The Communist troops under General Chen Yi would cross the Yangtze at one or two of the above-mentioned places to cut off the Nanking-Shanghai Railway and march along the Soochow-Chiahsing line in order to cut off the Shanghai - Hangchow Railway. Or they might drive toward Chintan, Liyang and Kuyung and pour into Chekiang by way of the Nanking - Hangchow highway. Another Communist column, with the support of local Red irregulars at Laian, Chuhsien, Tingyuan and Chiashan, might cross the river in Anhwei and penetrate into south Anhwei, thus threatening the flank of Nanking in coordination with General Chen Yi's troops in the east. General Liu Po-cheng's units might move toward Hsinyang and with the help of General Kung Chung-chow's forces make a formidable drive on Hankow."

The huge amount of foreign investments in Shanghai, the magazine declares, is also a big deterrent to any fighting in Shanghai. "The bulk of foreign investment in China is concentrated in Shanghai," it says. "More than one month ago when panic seized Nanking and Shanghai, American nationals were pretty much worried. On December 7, the American community in Shanghai formally asked Washington to make known its plans for protecting the lives and property of American nationals in Shanghai. A little while afterwards, American marines were sent to Shanghai from Tsingtao. Admiral Badger, commander-in-chief of the US Fleet in the Western Pacific, made it quite clear that in case of need American marines would land in Shanghai to protect the lives and property of American nationals, but the marines would never take part in China's civil war. This implied that Americans hoped to do business in Shanghai as usual.

"Neither the Kuomintang nor the Chinese Communists would have any need for destroying Shanghai. So far as possible, both of them are ready to respect the lives and property of American nationals in Shanghai."

The third reason, the magazine says, is that Shanghai's industry and commerce, is the very backbone of China's national economy: "The headquarters of Chinese light industries are located in Shanghai and only a small number of them are scattered in Tientsin, Hankow, Wusih and Canton. Besides, Shanghai is the nerve center of China's culture, education and banking. Is the battle for Shanghai going to end in a complete destruction of the city? It is most unlikely. It is, of course, mighty easy to destroy this foundation. But it would be a terrific task to rebuild it. Both the Kuomintang and the Communists are perfectly aware of this point.

"At present, most of the Government-owned industries have already been transferred to Canton and Taiwan. Those left behind in Shanghai are, for the most part, private enterprises. The reason why these enterprises have decided to remain where they are is because they don't want to move out. Besides, it is also difficult to do so.

"There is no reason why the Kuomintang or the Chinese Communists would have the heart to wipe out these light industries of private capital. Besides, this would make the public bitter."

Lastly, in view of the fact that Shanghai since the founding of the Chinese Republic has invariably emerged unscathed in spite of serious disturbances and internal warfare, it is generally felt that this time Shanghai will be able to come out all right, the magazine concludes.

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China News

AN inside story concerning the "polite insubordination" of Nationalist field commanders in Central China under the leadership of General Pai Chung-hsi to force Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek out is told in the *China News* of January 25.

The magazine explains that the feud between Generalissimo Chiang and the Kwangsi clique is a deep-rooted one. "The election of General Li Tsung-jen to the vice presidency of the Chinese Republic arqused much bad feeling between the Kuomintang and the Kwangsi clique," the article says. "General Pai Chung-hsi lost his portfolio as minister of national defense when Dr. Wong Wen-hao formed a new cabinet. He was given a minor job as bandit-suppression commander-in-chief in Central China. At first, he refused to take his new job. It was only after a series of conferences and much persuasion that he finally changed his mind and went to Hankow. However, this remained an unpleasant incident all the same."

The magazine continues: "Last December an important conference was held in Nanking under the auspices of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. In spite of repeated invitations from the Generalissimo, General Pai refused to attend the conference in person on the plea of ill health. Perspicacious observers at the time suspected that there must be something in the air.

"In the latter half of December, it was widely rumored that General Pai Chung-hsi was planning to negotiate a local peace with the Chinese Communists. On New Year's eve, the Honan Provincial Council fired its first shot at the Central Government, thus bringing to light the game General Pai was playing. The Council in a circular telegram to the various government agencies and civic bodies throughout the country openly demanded Chiang Kai-shek's resignation. The message was sharply worded and said Generalissimo Chiang should be ashamed of himself because of the complete bankruptcy of the present regime in Nanking.

"The message, although issued in the name of the Honan Provincial Council, had the advance knowledge and apparent approval of Governor Chang Chen. It was revealed that drafting of the message first began in the second week of December. It was passed by the Council in spite of stiff resistance by some pro-Nanking conservatives.

"In order to push its movement, the Council sent its chairman, Liu Chih-sho, to Hankow, Anking and Changsha to seek cooperation in the two provinces of Anhwei and Hunan. Response from Hunan and Anhwei was understood to be lukewarm...."

US Magazine Roundup

National Guardian

A new American weekly, *National Guardian*, which describes itself as "the progressive weekly," carries an article by John T. McManus on the recent convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations in its December 6 issue. The article, which focusses its attention on the right-left split within the CIO, says:

"At the momentous CIO Convention just concluded in Portland, Oregon, the long-progressive Congress of Industrial Organizations bowed at last to the pressure of industry, of the business-controlled press, and of intra-CIO factions long held in check in national CIO affairs.

"The CIO leadership:

"1. Ordered its 6,000,000 members into the camp of the cold war industrialists and politicians by unqualified endorsement of the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine.

"2. Prepared punishment amounting to death sentences—by raiding and charter lifting—for hitherto autonomous international unions which may resist.

"Increased membership per capita from five to eight cents—ostensibly for 'organization' but more accurately, as disclosed in other convention decisions, to carry on raiding and invasion of fields dominated by unions likely to oppose convention decisions.

"4. Brought to life a 'paper' resolution of previous conventions calling for 'industrial councils.' This is the plan that John L. Lewis once dubbed 'Phil Murray's Encyclical,' since it is based on ideas advanced in Pope Leo XIII's Rerum Novarum encyclical.

"Least likely of all the convention actions to be brought into play immediately, the 'industrial council' decision accepts the fallacy once made plausible by Mussolini and Hitler that labor and management are 'equal partners' in production. . . (and) also accepts the disproved theory that government is 'impartial' in labor-management disputes. Effects of such a plan if put into force will be:

"1. 'Bargaining' will be geared to what management can be induced to yield without the threat of strikes.

"2. Labor, by joining the industry council plan, will be committed to accept its decisions. Nobody need be guilty of 'selling out.' The plan itself is a sell-out of labor's only real weapons—membership strength and militancy. Rank-and-file militants who oppose acceptance will be denounced as communists, with possible loss of jobs or prosecution.

"Convention decisions were arrived at behind an official barrage of abuse and castigation of so-called 'left' unions, of which there are perhaps a dozen among the CIO's 30-odd affiliates, amounting in total membership to about one-sixth of the CIO's 6,000,000 members.

"Led by President Philip Murray himself, the attack was visited chiefly on the smallest and weakest of the 12—notably Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers fighting for union conditions in the tough cannery, tobacco plant, migratory worker and sharecropper areas; Office Workers, battling banks, insurance, ad agency, movie and radio opposition; and Public Workers, hampered by union-busting 'loyalty' purges and laws prohibiting strikes versus Government.

"Biggest of the so-called left-wing groups are United Electrical Workers (UERMWA), Furriers, and West Coast Longshoremen (ILWU) led by stormy Harry Bridges. Saved by size and organizing strength from the main attack, these came under the lash in other ways, principally for supporting Henry Wallace and opposing the Marshall Plan.

"The political action debate heard Abe Fineglass (Fur) cried down as a 'dirty Jew' for opposing the anti-Third Party resolution.

"President Albert Fitzgerald (UE), a vice-chairman of the Progressive Party, declared himself 'sick at the stomach' over such tactics.

"Fitzgerald was returned to office as a CIO vice-president, and offices of other 'left' unions were returned to the national executive board; but all opposition leaders faced the demand that they cease opposition to 'CIO policy' in union papers and instead bring the workers into line behind the actions of the 1948 convention."

Certain of the unions dissented, the article reported, continuing:

"From the Executive Board of the West Coast Longshoremen came this answer on December 1: 'We cannot agree that it is an act of disloyalty to the CIO or to the nation to disagree. We believe and assert that any member of our union or any other union of the CIO has the right to be a Communist, Republican, Democrat, Progressive, Socialist, or to adhere to any other political persuasion that is without union-busting purpose.'"

Another union, the United Electrical Workers, circularized its 600,000 members explaining that its convention delegates had dissented on four convention actions, the article said, adding: "Explaining its four dissents, *UE News* said its delegates opposed the convention foreign policy resolution as 'an inconsistent document' because of 'an uncritical acceptance of the main points of a foreign policy which is, in the resolution's own words, under the influence of bankers, monopolists and militarists, and a complete slurring over the effects of present foreign policy upon the living standards and well-being of the people of the United States.'

"UE also could not agree that 'political support must be limited to candidates of the two major parties'; that the CIO executive board should have power to take over and administer member unions ('a serious blow at the principle of union autonomy'); and that there was any need for a per capita increase from five to eight cents.

"What UE did not choose to voice was the conviction of most underdog CIO unions that the per capita increase to be exacted from them would be used directly against unions forced to pay it, in raiding and 'organizing' them out of existence or into other, more tractable unions in the CIO's crusade for 'prosperity' under the Truman war program."

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Collier's

AN editorial in the January 21, issue of *Collier's* entitled, "China Is Hungry, Not Red," raises the question of who will help feed China if the Communists take over. The article speculates on what might happen if Soviet Russia, through the Chinese Communists, should become the controlling influence in China.

Collier's says the US has lost China but goes on to ask: "What else besides face did we lose when the Communists defeated President Chiang's so-called armies?

"We lent and gave money and commodities to China and the Chinese. American military successes caused the Japanese to withdraw from China. On the recent record, then, the success of the Chinese Communists against President Chiang Kai-shek's troops could save money for the American taxpayer.

"This, however, is a narrow and limited view. Communist success in China, if long continued, could be very costly to American interests. Whatever we save from not spending in China we might have to pay out many times over to defend our interests elsewhere."

Among the important questions which still remain to be clarified, *Collier's* lists the following:

Will the Chinese Communists follow a Chinese policy or one subservient to Moscow?

Can the Communists really organize and govern China?

The magazine voices the possibility that the US might "have to deal in the future with three separate Chinas rather than with one so-called republic or empire."

But it says a unified China under Soviet Communist control "could be a very surly and menacing neighbor for Korea, Japan and everything Asiatic that lies to the south," and concludes: "We shall unquestionably have to reconsider our Japanese policy in the light of the Communist successes in China."

What Chinese Papers Say

GENERALISSIMO Chiang Kai-shek's "retirement" was generally interpreted as a substantial contribution toward making direct peace talks possible between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists. Prospects for the foreign relations of the United States also were discussed in the Chinese press last week.

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Chiang's Retirement

THE *Ta Kung Pao* welcomed Chiang Kai-shek's retirement from the Nanking Government and expressed the hope that his stepdown would lead to the immediate reopening of peace negotiations between Nanking and Yenan, thus bringing China's civil war to an early end.

The paper said that in view of the fact that the Generalissimo had already expressed in his New Year's message his readiness to get out if peace could be secured, his retirement should occasion no surprise.

"Now that President Chiang has taken concrete action to demonstrate his desire for achieving peace," the editorial said, "it is up to the Government and the Communist Party to open peace negotiations without delay. A Communist broadcast raised objections to the request of the Executive Yuan for a bilateral and unconditional cease-fire and suggested that peace negotiations start before any cease-fire.

"Latest reports from the capital stated that the Government had decided to send a delegation to fly to Yenan to talk peace with the Communists. This decision seems to indicate that the Government did not firmly stick to its original plan for cease-fire. If that is the case, peace negotiations should start right away.

"The people do not want any more fighting. This is the argument used by both the Government and the Communists in seeking peace. It is hoped that peace talks will not be delayed or marred simply because of difficulties involved in the question of procedure. The sooner peace talks are started, the better chance they will have of success.

"Three years of bloody fighting since VJ Day has been too much for the people. The people want peace . . . Peace negotiations should start at once. There should be no further delay. There may be a long time before peace is eventually achieved, or the time required may be very short. Generalissimo Chiang's retirement is most likely to produce a far-reaching effect on the Government. It is hoped that the Government leaders and army commanders throughout the country will keep calm and stick to their posts to work for peace."

US-Soviet Relations

THE *Shun Pao* discussed US-Soviet relations and concluded with the hope that both countries will do their best to improve these relations, thereby strengthening world peace as a whole.

"During the election campaign," the paper said, "President Truman promised the electorate that during the next four years he would devote his efforts to obtain the understanding of Soviet leaders so that world peace would be secured. Now that he is going to begin his new term of office, it is incumbent on him to exert efforts along this direction in order to live up to his words and not to cause disappointment to the electorate. The general trend seems to indicate that the United States Government will make an effort to break the present US-Soviet deadlock. The recent resignation of Secretary of State Marshall, and the appointment of Dean Acheson as his successor, may be considered the prelude to a new turn in US foreign policy.

"A review of US Soviet policy in the past two years, however, leads one to admit that the American authorities have failed to carry out measures in the field of foreign relations that meet fully with world approval. To be fair, Trumanism and the Marshall Plan, viewed from America's standpoint of anti-Communism and anti-Soviet Union, must be considered strong measures. But viewed from the standpoint of world peace as a whole, the possible repercussions of such a policy are worthy of careful consideration. Moreover, the State Department, in the actual execution of the policy, has often committed itself to delays and hesitations, and has not been able to carry it out drastically and promptly in order to achieve the fullest results. Besides, due to the neglect of the principle of the indivisibility of the world, the application of the policy has been limited to certain regions, and has resulted in priority treatment being given Europe. Accordingly, though there have been some achievements in Europe, the neglect of Asia has caused the policy to lose its real significance. Thus, unless the United States is prepared to carry out her firm policy regardless of any consequences, she must reconsider her relations with Soviet Russia.

"Generally speaking, US-Soviet cooperation is the prerequisite to world peace. All the peoples of the world are looking forward to the day when the two countries will bury their differences. Since recent developments in international relations have indicated a great possibility of improving the relations between the two world powers, it is to be hoped that they will seize this opportunity and take concrete steps in this respect."

US Foreign Policy

THE Kuomintang mouthpiece, *Chung Yang Jih Pao*, analyzed the trends of United States foreign policy and argued that if the keynote of US policy is peace as stated by President Truman, the United States must pay more attention to peace in the Far East.

"As a matter of fact," the paper said, "on the question of the future foreign policy of the United States, President Truman in his message to Congress on January 5 has already made it crystal clear that the basic principle underlying this policy is peace. The current change of the secretary of state indicated that Truman is going to supervise personally the implementation of his foreign policy and make a final effort toward peace.

"If we are to consider the cold war between the United States and Soviet Russia as the focal point in the international situation in 1948, then for the current year, the focal point will be peace. Should world peace unfortunately fail this year, the world would be nearer to World War III and the suffering of the peoples of the world would be beyond imagination.

"In the intensified cold war between the United States and the Soviet Union, Marshall has reaped important results in Europe. But in Asia, it cannot be denied that the democracies have suffered reverses. The drastic change in the situation on Continental Asia during last year must be considered a great defeat for the United States in her cold war against the Soviet Union. After the whole of Manchuria has tumbled behind the Iron Curtain, South Korea has become exposed to the pressure exerted by the joint Communist armies in Manchuria and North Korea and is now in grave danger. If South Korea is not preserved, the coast lines of Japan and the Ryukyus will be exposed to serious threat. The change in the situation in the West Pacific indicates that Asia has been deprived of the guarantee of security. If the 1,100,000,000 people of Asia lose their security, there will be no doubt that peace for Europe will also become a dream . . .

"Peace is the common aspiration of the peoples of the world. At a moment when the threat of a third world war is imminent, the American electorate have re-elected Truman as President, and we believe he will devote his efforts to avert war. We express the hope that amidst the present uncertainties of the world situation today, the peace policy of President Truman will be carried out smoothly. And in order to prevent a third world war, we further express the hope that the US will give primary attention to the peace and stability of the Far East."

What US Papers Say

PRESIDENT Chiang's retirement dominated editorial comment on China in the US press. Most papers termed it a "tragedy" but felt it was inevitable under the changing circumstances.

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Tragedy Of Chiang

THE *New York Herald Tribune*, in an editorial titled, "The Tragedy of Chiang," said: "Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek departed from Nanking as a defeated man but his name will be written large in Chinese history. His triumphs in the 20 years that ended with the surrender of the Japanese were more spectacular than those of any other man in Asia in his generation. If he had retired at the end of the war with Japan, through which he resisted aggression of foes bearing superior arms with such remarkable tenacity, there would have been an aura of glory about him that would have endured indefinitely.

"Throughout his life he was essentially a patriot and a Nationalist. His virtues were those of men who had been notable emperors or superb military commanders in ancient China. His faults were closely allied to his virtues. His basic fault was that he was not a modern man. He failed to understand some aspects of the development of the country where he held leadership, and the tragedy of his final defeat was a result of this failure. His achievements, might have been even more extraordinary than they actually were if he had lived a thousand or two thousand years ago. While he represented the very spirit of the Chinese people during a portion of his career —partly because he had virtues that were valued in ancient China—he eventually met disaster because a new spirit had arisen that he did not understand and could not represent . . .

"After the Sino-Japanese war, the Generalissimo was determined to wipe out the Communists, who were creating a new division of his country through their control of a party army and their refusal to recognize the authority of Nanking. The Generalissimo used military means, as he had against the warlords, and he expected similar results. Unfortunately, however, his government had done little to meet the demands of the people of China for a better life. To most Chinese, weary of war and tired of being hungry and of wearing rags, the National Government seemed to offer little except more fighting and high rents, high taxes and high interest rates. The Communists, at a minimum, offered promises. From the point of view of an American, many of these promises were misleading, if not completely false, but in comparison to the poor performance of the National Government, with its inefficiency and its corruption in provincial and local administration, the promises were attractive to a Chinese peasant.

"Few of the people of China understood that Communism was a movement with headquarters in Moscow and very few responded with any enthusiasm to the Generalissimo's Nationalist and patriotic appeal. Many regarded the Communist movement as merely an uprising of distressed peasants. Since the Communist-led uprising came at a time when there was a new spirit abroad in Asia, a spirit that demanded more attention for the welfare of the ordinary man, the Reds were able to conceal their true intentions."

The *Christian Science Monitor*, also commenting on "The Tragedy of General Chiang," said there was a time when Chiang Kai-shek seemed synonymous with China and that for a brief, heroic period even his enemies, including the Chinese Communists, were reconciled to his leadership when China confronted the Japanese invader. The editorial continued:

"For the degree of unity he was able to bring to that mighty but divided land, for the superb stubbornness of his refusal to bow before overwhelming Japanese force, for his rigid devotion to China's destiny as he understood it, he will hold an honored place in the history books.

"But history has moved forward, while the Generalissimo has stood still. Old divisions have renewed and multiplied themselves, in his own camp as well as between him and his Communist opponents. His unyielding emphasis on Confucian authority has grown as popular support of his shaken regime has waned. Finally, the division between him and the people's will has become complete."

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New Phase

A *Washington Star* editorial titled, "New Phase in China," said: "With Chiang's great prestige and unifying influence thus eliminated, one of the big questions is whether the Nationalists will be able to hold together under Li and negotiate a peace that will not reduce China to the status of a Soviet puppet. Another big question is whether the Chinese Communists, assuming that they come to dominate the entire country, will eventually develop a maverick temper like that of Tito's Communists in Yugoslavia or whether—with a veto power as one of the Big Five in the United Nations —they will slavishly serve the Kremlin.

"As for the question of American aid—whether it could have done any good if it had been larger or whether it would have been wasted—speculation seems pretty much beside the point now. The point is that Chiang's departure—though it may conceivably prove to be temporary—seems to mark the beginning of a profoundly significant new phase in the long history of tortured China. And that suggests, in turn, that the United States, having in mind its position in the world balance of power, must do some deep and sober thinking about the grave implications of a Communist-dominated Asia."

The *New York Times* said: "Though there were at first contradictions and uncertainties in the news that came from China, it seems probable now that Chiang Kai-shek has surrendered power to direct the destinies of his hard-pressed government not only in the crisis immediately confronting it but also in the longer trials that lie ahead. Theoretically, he has left Nanking only 'to sweep the tombs of his ancestors' in his native town of Fenghua. But in view of the latest official statement of his retirement this has all the earmarks of a journey from which there is no present prospect of a return to power."

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Peace Terms

COMMENTING on Mao Tze-tung's peace conditions, the *Washington Star* in an editorial entitled, "Chinese Red 'Peace' Terms" said: "While perhaps not unexpected, the Communist answer to Chiang Kai-shek's recent peace feeler effectively dissipates any hope that China's civil war can be terminated on a compromise basis.

"No less a personage than Mao Tze-tung, supreme leader of the Chinese Communist party, is the author of an eight-point statement on the terms on which 'negotiations' can take place. Collectively, they amount to a demand for unconditional surrender of the Kuomintang National Government and its replacement by virtually complete Communist domination over China. Stigmatizing Chiang's proposals as 'sheer hypocricy,' and boasting of Red ability to inflict a few more heavy military blows which will cause the National Government to 'crumble into dust and extinction,' Mao goes on to specify the terms on which fighting can stop.

"For the Western world, the most significant part of Mao's ultimatum is his bitterly hostile attitude toward the Western Powers, in general, and the United States, in particular. Holding the Kuomintang guilty of 'traitorous' foreign policies, Mao stigmatizes as a 'wholesale betrayal of national rights' such acts as the acceptance of American aid in all its phases. He therefore demands 'Abrogation of Treaties of National Betrayal,' making it clear that this refers especially to all agreements made with the United States."

The Review's English Lesson—LXVIII

THIS week, we shall vary our usual form of lesson which attempts to explain certain phrases used in the columns of this magazine. Many readers have expressed satisfaction with the basic idea, but have asked not only that the terms be explained, but also that this should be done in the same issue in which the terms appear. We have explained that mechanical difficulties of having both text and explanation in the same issue are insuperable; so we must compromise. This time, we'll try to cover the first editorial appearing in last week's issue, "US To Build Dikes," picking out what appear to be the most difficult expressions.

The Hunan Government, which . . . is not the most efficient organization imaginable: "Most efficient" is, of course, a superlative; the most efficient organization accomplishes its duties with no loss whatever, either of manpower, money, time or materials. But when the writer slipped a "not" in front, he implied that it was a pretty poor organization indeed—without exactly saying so. The "negation of a superlative" is often used in this way, to give more force to a statement that otherwise might sound banal. For example, instead of saying, on coming out of a movie, "That was a bad picture," one might say (and probably with good cause), "That wasn't the best picture I've ever seen."

Foredoomed to failure: "Foredoomed": destined. The phrase gains color through alliteration, the two initial "f" sounds. For a good, solid dose of alliteration, the reader is referred to the English poet Swinburne, who used the device sometimes to ridiculous lengths.

Received but scanty publicity: "But" is often used, as here, instead of "only." The word "scanty" means slight, little, sparse. "To the foreigner, it appears that Shanghailanders wear scanty clothing in summer."

Squeeze fat profits: "Squeeze" is of course the time-honored euphemism (pleasant way of saying, or referring to, something unpleasant) denoting the time-honored custom of extorting a profit from every transaction, whether permissible or not. "Fat" is commonly used as here to mean big, huge, tremendous profits.

A much-touted earthen wall: The phrase "much-touted" is often used, but in a sense somewhat different from the original meanings of the word "tout", which came from an Anglo-Saxon word meaning to peep, to look. Later, it came to mean to spy, or to canvass for customers, etc. As used here, it means "much praised", or "much advertised."

While casting about: The verb "cast" has many meanings, perhaps the commonest of which is to fling, or throw. As used here, it means "to estimate, compute, look for"—an obsolete meaning, aside from its use in this particular phrase, which is often used.

Usually pious . . . officials: "Pious" here is used in its old sense, meaning dutiful or loyal to family, race, etc.—here, to principles of honest government. It is evident from the context of this phrase that the word is used in the ironic sense, since the officials referred to are said to "specialize in helping (for a price) foreign.... missions spend money...."

Fool proof: More commonly written as one word; it means that some instrument, machine, plan, etc., is so simple, well-built, or well-designed as not to be misused or damaged, even by a fool.

Had a crack at: Had a try at (accomplishing something); had an opportunity to carry out some task.

Bureaucrats haggled: "Bureaucrats" are government officials who use rigid, formal measures, or who, through laziness or unimaginativeness, use only routine procedures in administration. "To haggle" is to argue or wrangle, especially to make difficulties in bargaining. This phrase is a good example of a suitable choice of words: that is, good diction. "Bureaucrats" is a derogatory way of referring to government officials; "haggled" connotes dishonesty, brawling, sharp practices. Both terms therefore go well together, and the phrase is much more effective than "bureaucrats argued", for example, since "argued" might refer to a serious dispute between high-minded persons.

Clamped down on: To restrict summarily; to stop with force. "Clamped" might refer to the lid of a pot, suggesting that it is firmly fixed into place to cover up something disagreeable.

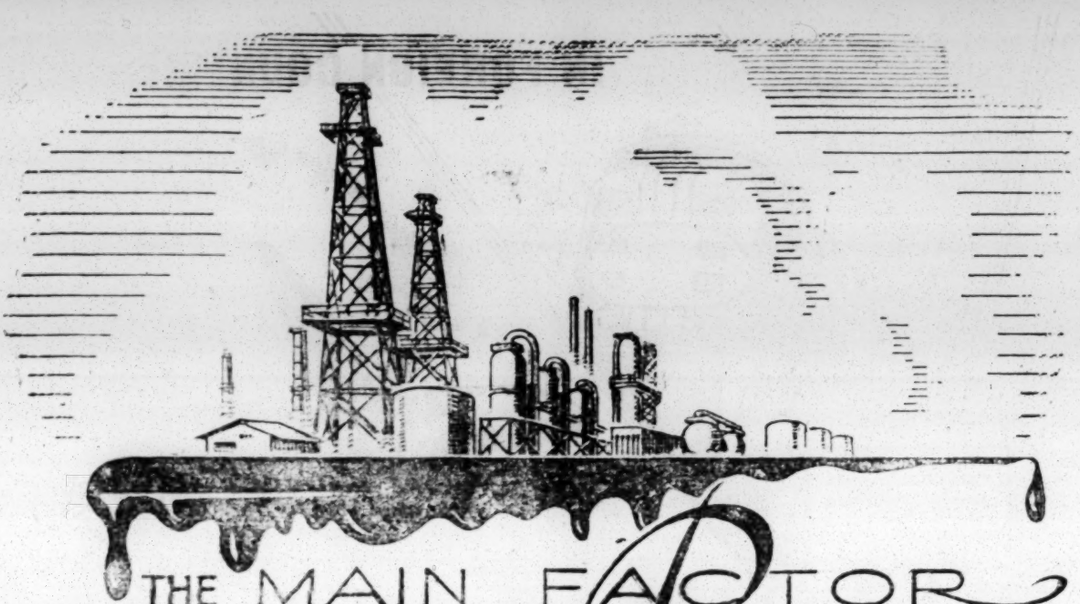
Frantic dumping of stocks: "Frantic" means wildly excited, frenzied; to "dump" stocks is to throw goods onto the market in great quantities.

(Flour) wound up in the hands of Changsha newspapers: "To wind up in (or at)" means finally to arrive; the phrase connotes a long and devious path—often a dishonest one. "The Governor of X, after having collaborated with the Japanese, opened an illegal foreign-exchange racket in Shanghai; it is said that he finally wound up in a beautiful house in Taiwan."

A "good press": Favorable publicity in the newspapers. "It is said that the current peace efforts of the Government are receiving a good press." (From the beginning of the next editorial, "Road From Democracy.")

This or that country: "This or that" means one or another; any of several.

All too rarely do we hear: "All too rarely" is extremely rarely; such an adverbial phrase is not very common. It is followed, as here, by the inverted verb-form, "do we". "All too often do we see...." etc.



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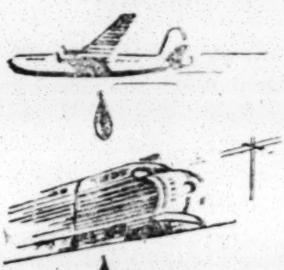

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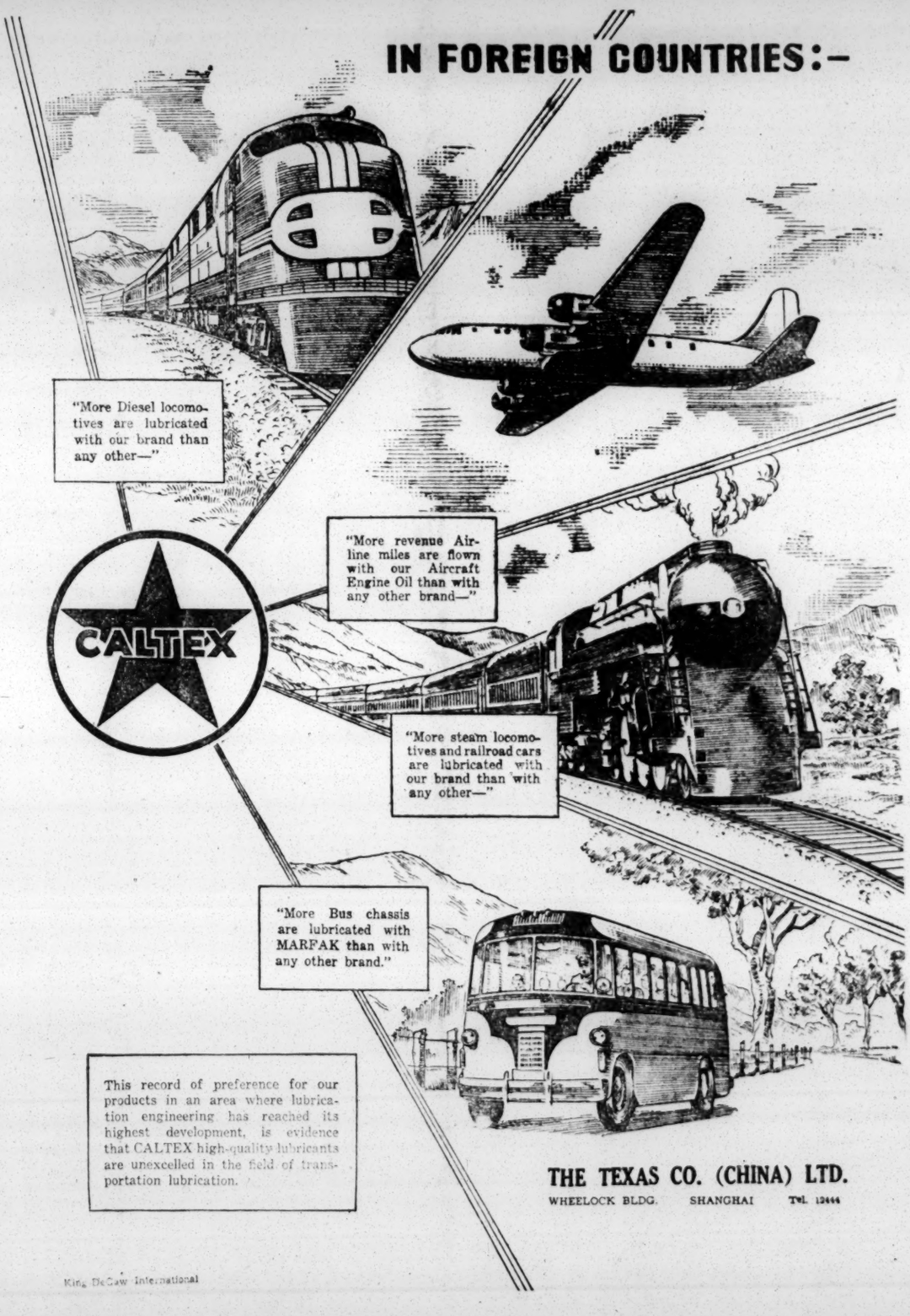

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Printed by THE MERCURY PRESS